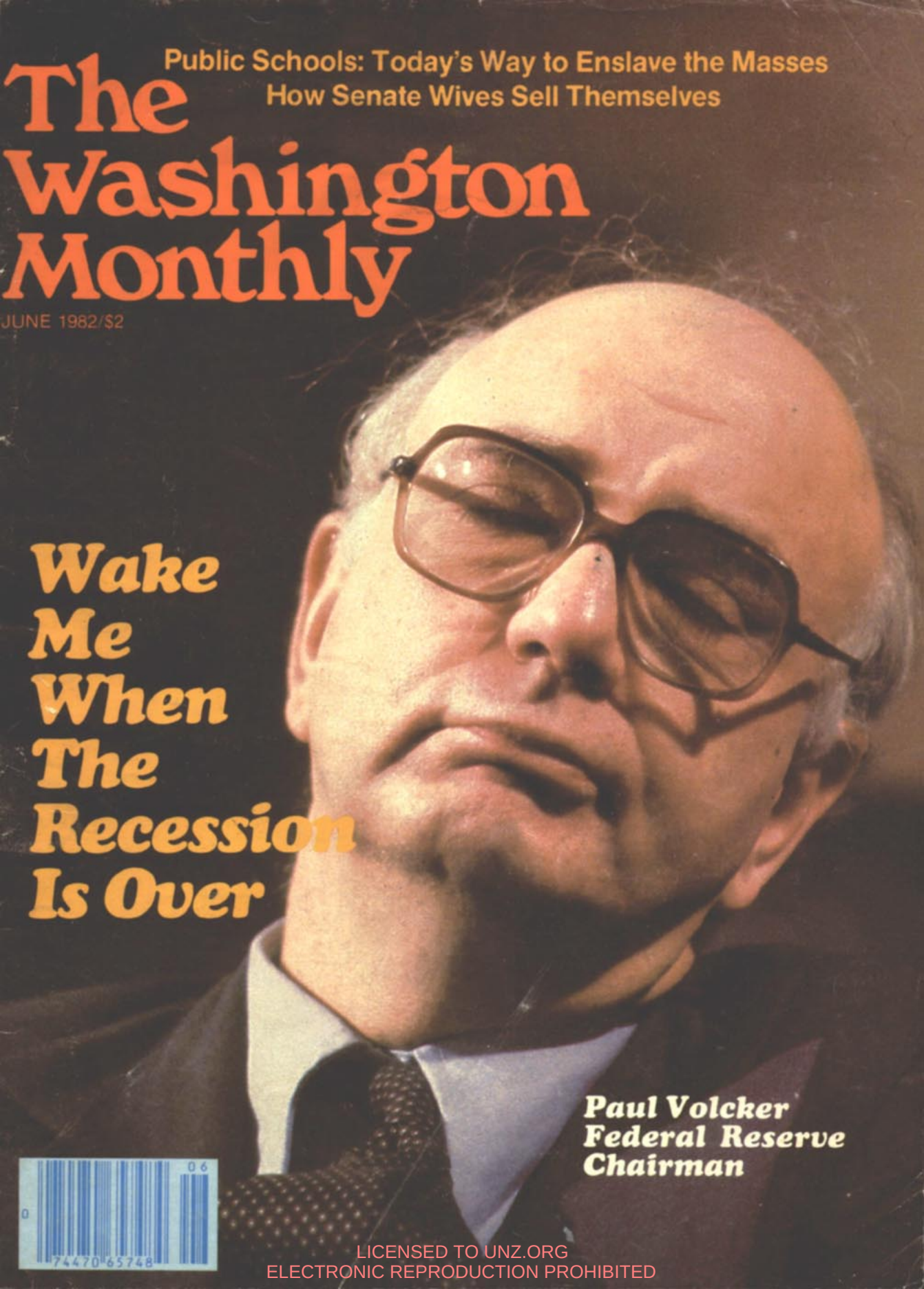
Public Schools: Today's Way to Enslave the Masses
How Senate Wives Sell Themselves

The Washington Monthly

JUNE 1982/$2



Wake Me When The Recession Is Over

Paul Volcker
Federal Reserve
Chairman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some people ask:

"Wouldn't my auto insurance rates be lower if insurance companies took their investment income into account?"

We want you to know:

Insurance companies *do* take investment income into account when they make their rates. The truth is, your auto insurance rates would be *higher* than they are if insurance companies *didn't* make allowance for investment income.

An insurance company has two main sources of income: premiums paid by policyholders and money generated by investments, usually in stocks or bonds. *Together,* these funds are used to pay regular claims, catastrophic losses, operating expenses, dividends, state and federal taxes.

To sell policies at competitive prices, an insurance company must strike a balance between its income from policyholder premiums *and* its income from investments. That balance will usually differ—among companies and markets. A rigid formula for balancing premium income with investment income would be neither sensible nor practical, because no two markets, types of insurance, or insurance companies are exactly alike. The "balancing" requires good business judgment and common sense.

In recent years, the economy has produced record levels of investment income. But inflation has led to record hospital and medical fees and auto repair costs—the things insurance pays for. Meanwhile, auto insurance premiums have risen less than the costs of mending bodies and repairing cars.

The result is that insurance companies have committed more dollars for auto insurance claims and general expenses than they have collected in premiums. In industry jargon, that's called an "underwriting loss." Fortunately for customers and companies alike, investment income has more than offset those underwriting losses and has enabled insurance companies to make an overall profit.

And that, in turn, enables companies to continue to serve the growing insurance needs of the public.

We're working to keep insurance affordable.

This message presented by the **American Insurance Association,** 85 John Street, NY, NY 10038

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

Post Hoc Knock

In regard to the statements by Charles Peters about inflation ("Tilting at Windmills," March), I would have to agree that the increase in the world price of oil attributable to OPEC made a significant contribution to the increasing inflation of the 1970s. However, it was very much the Federal Reserve's policy of keeping interest rates low during this period, which meant expanding the money supply at a faster rate, that reinforced the initial round of price increases caused by the increased price of oil and exacerbated the situation. His statement that the increased price of OPEC oil hit the U.S. harder than Japan or Europe because the U.S. used more oil in total amounts is akin to saying an elephant will fatten faster than a mouse if it is fed twice as much as that mouse.

Also, part of the reason interest rates were only around four percent in the 1950s and early 60s is the very fact that the inflation rate was nearly zero. Who is going to loan money at four percent when the inflation rate is ten percent? Interest rates are determined by the supply of loanable funds as well as the demand for them. Beware the *post hoc, ergo proptor hoc* fallacy in attempting simple explanations of complex events.

DANIEL P. SCHWALLIE
Iowa City, Iowa

In Mr. Peters' March "Tilting" column he took what I consider a misdirected thrust at the independence of the Federal Reserve Board. On other occasions Peters has argued cogently for the application of electoral accountability to the civil service. However, such potentially salutary effects immediately bump into unwholesome impacts when the general Peters' principle is applied to the Federal Reserve Board. In terms of politicizing monetary policy, has Peters so quickly forgotten David Stockman's "The hogs were really feeding"? That metaphor was used to characterize the congressional greed and opportunism that culminated in last year's tax bill. Had that same greed and opportunism been unleashed full force upon the Federal Reserve, we might now have lower interest rates but we would almost certainly have higher inflation. Even more significantly, the country would be nowhere near facing the painful economic transitions that we had forestalled all too long.

The Fed's monetary prudence has shown that there is at least one entity in Washington willing to exert some discipline. The Fed has tenaciously sought low money growth in order to reduce the fuel of inflation. It has consistently opposed policies that serve to assure huge future deficits and keep interest rates high in anticipation of inflation's reacceleration. Such actions have made important contributions to a climate where Congress has finally begun to face its own responsibility for our current economic problems.

In the midst of the current economic disarray, to advise the removal of one of the country's few defenses against the hogs may be to urge a hasty slippage into the pig's pen.

SHELA C. TURPIN
Washington, D.C.

Theory R

Re your April "Tilting" column and your comments on Japanese technology: The "problem" goes deeper than Japanese-American trade talks, Ouichi's Theory Z of Japanese management superiority, and Japanese employment security. The roots are psychological. For example, can anyone explain why U.S. auto workers are terrified for their jobs with the advent of industrial robots while the Japanese have embraced them with enthusiasm (more robots in Japanese factories than in any other country)?

The old joke was that "Made in Japan" meant it fell apart. The tides have turned. I'll continue to drive my '73 Toyota till it collapses, and then I'll buy another because it's cheaper and better made than the K-car or Omni or whatever.

DOUG GARR
New York, New York

Overworked and Underappreciated

What is wrong with pay and pensions of the military costing the government $60 billion? Military retirements are not absurd. They are the glue that keeps the military together. You take away the retirement and see how many people you keep on active duty for how long. Lots of us always say we'll sit in the boiler rooms, or the guard shacks, etc. and put up with the mickey mouse for 20 years. . .but we won't do it or put up with it for 30 or 40 years like you want. How many years of family separations, of unpaid overtime, of moves where we cannot buy a home, of losing money on moves, etc. You'd like us to do it till we drop dead at 65. . . right. . . well we don't want that. We want it where we can see a decent end to it and a pay-off at 20. Sure we are capable of performing for many years, but we refuse to do it more than 20 with all the military mickey mouse one must endure. You didn't serve 20 years did you? You weren't willing to do it, even 20. How many people are willing to do it 30 or 40? Almost none.

The record shows what happens when you underpay or mess up benefits for the military. They leave and it costs more in the end. The cuts threatened this year may "force" me to choose retirement. If I don't go they'll

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

louse up retirement benefits I already have and which they want to take away unless already retired.

R. CLARKE
Fairfax, Virginia

Your comments on the military seem to be totally unfair and inappropriate. From reading some of your previous comments, you appeared to be somewhat supportive of our military personnel. Yet you turn around and regard their retirement policies as being ". . . the most absurd of all the government's wasteful practices."

When you refer to 20 years of service, let's not forget that such service, in the majority of cases, isn't predicated on a basic 40-hour week. When I was on one LST in particular, I stood watches in Combat Information Center for eight hours a day—then had to put in about six or so hours in Ship's Office. I also had to run the Ship's Post Office for Ship's Company, plus embarked Marines and the Seabee Detachment. Working 12 to 18 hours a day was not that unusual.

No, I didn't get any overtime—nor did I receive any "comp time" (that is, time off for time worked). Yes, I worked behind a desk, but the deck force didn't—nor did the men in the engine rooms. If you propose that military personnel get overtime—and compensation for being away from their families for months or years—then perhaps a 20-year stint could be considered.

I personally take offense at your references to "premature retirement" as being a "major cause of corruption in the military." You seem to be playing the same game as many congressional types: suggesting that working for a defense contractor upon retirement means that retirees will engage in dishonest business practices.

Does this occur? I am sure that it does—but certainly not of the magnitude that you suggest. Maybe former congressmen are immune to such immoral behavior. I strongly believe that the majority of military retirees conduct themselves in an honorable fashion when working for a defense contractor.

Perhaps you will consider publishing my rebuttal—because I think that you were too general in your comments—and most assuredly unfair. Your castigation of the military gives them a black eye—which isn't warranted.

WILLIAM C. BRADSHAW
Oakland, California

Jumpin' Jack Flash

After considering your inept apologia for John Kennedy's womanizing, I suggest the following definition for a neoliberal: someone who's got one foot in his mouth and the other up his past. There's no way to excuse Kennedy's behavior on the grounds that he was a "Stan" who had a "need not to be found out." He wasn't a Stan, he was a liar; and of course he didn't want to get found out, liars usually don't. Nor was the late J.K. singular in being attracted to mysterious women. Most men are, and most men would like to find out more about them. Fortunately most married men are more honest and regard their marriage vows more seriously than Jumpin' Jack Flash did.

PHIL MAGGITTI
Unionville, Pennsylvania

The Draft is Daft

In your April issue you, the editors, sanction the revival of the draft as a method of reducing "the chances of reckless military adventurism abroad." I disagree. A government is much more likely to be truculent if it has the power to compel its citizens to accept their government's foreign policy.

D.A.W. ANDERSEN
Santa Ana, California

Loving Us and Leaving Us

I am a new subscriber to your magazine and I want to express my appreciation of the fine articles in it. In the April issue I thought the articles on how to cut the defense budget should be read by all Americans. *The D.C.A.T.* by Gregg Easterbrook is just the kind of satire we need. I flunked the test!

ESTHER BURNS
Spokane, Washington

It was my understanding that *The Washington Monthly* provided unbiased views on contemporary politics. After reading several articles from the magazine, I find that "innovation and freshness" are lacking from the content. Furthermore, my impression from reading *The Washington Monthly* is that the publication is nothing more than a medium from which the liberal faction can preach contemptuous policies.

Please cancel my subscription.

M.J. REDDING
Rosemead, California

"INFLATION DROPPED to a negative rate for the first time in more than a quarter of a century, the best news for the poor and the elderly on fixed incomes in the same period. Unfortunately, the news media were too concerned about the disasters for the poor and the elderly under Reaganomics to notice."

For a free copy of the current issue of National Review, write to Dept. W-4, 150 East 35 Street, New York, New York 10016.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW TO SAVE YOUR LIFE AND THE ONE NEXT TO YOU

OVERCOMING YOUR PSYCHOLOGICAL RESISTANCE TO SEAT BELTS MAY BE THE KEY.

The facts are startling. Experts estimate that almost half of all automobile occupant fatalities and many serious injuries might have been avoided if the people had been wearing seat belts. That's because most injuries occur when the car stops abruptly and the occupants are thrown against the car's interior or out of the car. Belts reduce this risk.

Many people say they know the facts, but they still don't wear belts. Their reasons range all over the lot: seat belts are troublesome to put on, they are uncomfortable, or they wrinkle your clothes. Some people even think getting hurt or killed in a car accident is a question of fate; and, therefore, seat belts don't matter.

If you're one of those people who don't use belts for one reason or another, please think carefully about your motivations. Are your objections to seat belts based on the facts or on rationalizations?

Here are a few of the common rationalizations. Many people say they are afraid of being trapped in a car by a seat belt. In fact, in the vast majority of cases, seat belts protect passengers from severe injuries, allowing them to escape more quickly. Another popular rationalization: you'll be saved by being thrown clear of the car. Here again, accident data have proved that to be untrue—you are almost always safer inside the car.

Some people use seat belts for highway driving, but rationalize it's not worth the trouble to buckle up for short trips. The numbers tell a different story: 80% of all automobile accidents causing serious injury or death involve cars traveling under 40 miles per hour. And three quarters of all collisions happen less than 25 miles from the driver's home.

When you're the driver, you have the psychological authority to convince all of the passengers that they should wear seat belts. It has been shown that in a car, the driver is considered to be an authority figure. A simple reminder from you may help save someone's life.

Another common myth: holding a small child in your arms will provide the child with sufficient protection during a crash. The safety experts disagree. They point out that even during a 30 mph collision, a 10-pound child can exert a 300-pound force against the parent's grip. So please make sure Child Restraint Systems are used for children who aren't old enough to use regular seat belts.

If you're an employer, encourage your employees to wear seat belts. At GM, we've made it a matter of policy that everyone riding in company-owned vehicles is expected to wear lap and shoulder belts.

We heartily support the program initiated by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration to encourage the use of seat belts. So please fasten your own belt, and urge your family and friends to follow your example. Even the best driver in the world can't predict what another driver will do.

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.

GM
MARK OF EXCELLENCE

General Motors

Chevrolet • Pontiac
Oldsmobile • Buick
Cadillac • GMC Truck

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New from OG&H

and the *STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE*

WORLD ARMAMENTS AND DISARMAMENT
The SIPRI Yearbook 1982

The thirteenth edition of the SIPRI Yearbook, an internationally recognized sourcebook on all aspects of world weapons growth. $55.00

THE ARMS RACE AND ARMS CONTROL
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

Well-researched information on military developments of every kind. Paper $8.95

AGREEMENTS FOR ARMS CONTROL
A Critical Survey
Josef Goldblat

The most comprehensive handbook on arms control available. $35.00

OUTER SPACE: A New Dimension of the Arms Race
Edited by Bhupendra Jasani

The discussions of a symposium on the relation of space technologies to the arms race. $35.00

Also Available

NUCLEAR RADIATION IN WARFARE
J. Rotblat, British Pugwash Committee

The wide range of methods exploiting the lethal effects of radiation in nuclear weapons and documentation of the kinds of radiation that result from nuclear explosions particularly biological responses to radiation. $20.00

Available from the publisher or in New York at McGraw-Hill Bookstore, Scribner's Bookstore, or Madison Avenue Bookstore. In Washington at Sidney Kramer.

Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, Inc.
Publishers
1278 Massachusetts Ave., Harvard Square, Cambridge, MA 02138

To order from OG&H call (617) 876-5100 or write to Box NYR. Orders must be prepaid. If paying by Visa or Master Charge, include account number, expiration date, and signature.

Prices subject to change without notice.

The Washington Monthly

Editor in Chief Charles Peters. *Editors* Jonathan Alter, Phil Keisling. *Contributing Editors* Thomas N. Bethell, Tom Bethell, Marjorie Boyd, Taylor Branch, Gregg Easterbrook, James Fallows, Robert M. Kaus, Michael Kinsley, Nicholas Lemann, Suzannah Lessard, Arthur Levine, Joseph Nocera, Thomas Redburn, Leonard Reed, Walter Shapiro. *Editorial Advisory Board* Graham Allison, James David Barber, Edgar Cahn, David Halberstam, Murray Kempton, Richard Reeves, Hugh Sidey. *Assistant to the Editor* Carol Trueblood.

Publisher Matthew Nemerson. *Art Director* Jeffrey Ranbom. *Advertising Director* Donna Fenn. *Publishing Assistant* Leslie Winick. *Circulation Assistants* Nancy Beadie, Gene Sittenfeld. *Production Staff* Denise Berthiaume, Meher Dalal, Pat Martin. *Interns* Jeff Miller, Lee Butler.

Published monthly except combined July/August issue by The Washington Monthly Company, 2712 Ontario Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009, (202) 462-0128.

Copyright © 1982 by The Washington Monthly Co. All rights reserved. Reproduction by any method whatsoever without permission is prohibited.

ISSN 0043-0633.

Subscription rates: U.S. and possessions: one year, $22; two years, $39; three years, $52. Additional charges per year, foreign subscriptions: Canada, $3; other, $25 air mail, $3 surface mail. Back issues, $3. Send all remittances and correspondence concerning subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to 2712 Ontario Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. For changes of address, please provide four weeks' advance notice and return old address label.

The Washington Monthly is indexed in the Book Review Index, Public Affairs Information Service, the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, the Social Science Index, and Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory, and may be obtained on microfilm from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME FOURTEEN NUMBER FOUR
JUNE 1982

Tilting at Windmills
by Charles Peters
Defending Ann Landers . . . The most cynical Cabinet member. . . and other odds and ends. **6**

Defrocking the Fed
by Jonathan Alter
A look behind the curtain shows how the Federal Reserve is destroying the economy in order to save it. **12**

"Sweetheart, Get Me Re-Write. They've Indicted the Donut Dunker!"
by Eric Black
Vice in Minnesota is Virtue in Chicago. **23**

The Class War We Can't Afford to Lose
by Phil Keisling
Saving our public schools from the enemy within. **28**

Using Husbands as Business Cards
by Donna Fenn
Political wives in compromising positions. **40**

Literati, Go Home
by Philip Weiss
In a quaint Mexican village, the imperialists wear sandals. **45**

On Political Books
by Robert M. Kaus
The Hayden Manifesto **53**

LETTERS 1
MEMO OF THE MONTH 27
MONTHLY JOURNALISM AWARD 25
POLITICAL BOOKNOTES 58
POLITICAL PUZZLE 52
TIDBITS AND OUTRAGES 39
WHERE TO STAY IN WASHINGTON 50
WHO'S WHO 22

Cover photo: Ricardo Watson

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tilting at Windmills

Industry always finds a way to take care of the politicians who are faithful in its service. If not a campaign contribution from a corporate PAC, there will be a paid speaking engagement before a trade association—or an award like that recently presented by the American Defense Preparedness Association to Rep. William Dickinson, the ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee. The association, whose membership includes 540 defense contractors, gave Rep. Dickinson its 1982 Defense Industry Award, $10,000, and a gold medal, for his "support of strong national defense."

The next step will surely be the Lobbyists Academy Award Night, with eloquent, even touching presentations to and acceptance speeches by "the senator who has done the most for the drug industry in 1982" or "the congressman who has given a lifetime of service to the dairy lobby." As the latter award is being announced, the cameras will be hard pressed to show the faces of all the congressmen who have every right to be looking expectantly toward the podium. . . .

I rise to the defense of Ann Landers in the case of recycled letters. The short-term memory of those of us who have reached or passed our fifties is such that we can repeat or have repeated to us any anecdote that is more than six months old and it will come with all the freshness of a spring flower. One does from time to time detect a certain rolling of the eyes among one's younger associates. Still, I think, as with the Christmas Eve reading of Dickens, we can all benefit from retelling stories that illustrate important truths. As regular readers know, one of my favorites concerns the time the Czechs got mad at our then-Ambassador Ellis O. Briggs and ordered two thirds of our embassy staff to return to the United States. Briggs found that the remaining third constituted the most efficient embassy he had ever known. To one reader who has threatened to kill himself if I ever told the Briggs story again, let me hasten to add that I really have a legitimate excuse this time. I have just learned the size of the Japanese foreign ministry, known to be among the worlds' most efficient. It is—you guessed it—exactly one third the size of our state department, indeed, the entire Japanese government has but 506,000 employees. Thus a nation with a population half the size of ours manages to make do with a bureaucracy that is less than one fifth our own. . . .

Another Japanese secret is that they scorn short-term profit. What they care about is expanding their share of the market so that they can achieve long-term growth. According to *The New York Times*, the average profit margin for Japanese companies was 1.12 percent last year. According to *Business Week*, it was 4.8 percent for American companies. The key factor here, as we have pointed out before, Ann, is that American corporations get most of their financing from stockholders who want dividends and the profits that produce them, while Japanese companies get most of theirs from banks that lend them money for the long-term. . . .

The march of progress continues. *Roget's Thesaurus* has hired a woman as its editor. The problem is that this laudable venture into equal opportunity employment has produced some lamentable results in the new edition—"mankind," for example, has become "humankind," and "countryman" is "country dweller.". . .

In our February issue we talked about how liberals should stop scorning and start reaching out to people who take their religion seriously. I see the school prayer issue as one way of doing that. While I can easily see how the custom of my youth, requiring children to recite the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of school, was offensive to non-believers, I can see no reason to oppose a few minutes of silent meditation. During such a period those who want to pray can pray and those who don't want to pray can think about baseball (which indeed I often managed to do while reciting the Lord's Prayer) or anything else, sectarian or non-sectarian, they want to think about. In this frenetic world, we could all stand a few moments of quiet reflection each day. . . .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Los Angeles Times may have the real reason Reagan doesn't seem to care about the recession—it isn't affecting his old friends in the Kitchen Cabinet. One example: The large Ford dealerships owned by one of his closest friends, Holmes Tuttle, are located in parts of the Sun Belt—Arizona and Orange County, California—that remain islands of prosperity in a country drifting toward depression. . . .

Another group that continues to do well is doctors. Have you heard about the latest service being offered them? It is called Physician's Medical Conference Service. Its ad reads, "Want to mix business with pleasure? Here's a new service that helps you find the right medically-related conference to suit your professional *and* [the emphasis is in the ad] recreational needs." If you have decided you want to vacation in Honolulu, the service will, for a modest fee, find just the Spinal Seminar at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel that will make the trip tax deductible. . . .

But doctors and friends of Ronald Reagan aren't the only people living it up. Jurors in Colorado Springs are also enjoying the good life. They are given free liquor with their dinner. On a recent evening, according to *The Rocky Mountain News*, the food bill for one jury came to $79.68 and the liquor bill to $133.05. Both the food-to-alcohol ratio and the amount of the latter that was put away suggest that there must have been an urgent summons for black coffee before the jurors resumed their deliberations the next morning. . . .

A final note on those who are savoring life to its fullest. Caspar Weinberger, who says he just can't find any way to cut the defense budget, recently ran up a $3,659.77 bill in two nights at the Greenbrier Hotel in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. I should note that my source for this information is *The West Virginia Democrat*, a publication whose objectivity may seem questionable in the eyes of some of Mr. Weinberger's friends. But the story does remind me of those trips to Bar Harbor, Maine, for which it was reported the secretary was using government planes last summer. . . .

Weinberger and his deputy, Frank Carlucci, are my leading candidates for the title of Most Cynical Member of the Reagan administration. The competition is keen, of course, but these are two men who, because of their extensive experience in government, including service in places like the OMB and the CIA, had to know about the budget-inflating techniques that are traditionally practiced by government agencies and traditionally practiced most outrageously by the Pentagon. So why have they consistently refused to concede that there is any fat in the defense budget? . . .

For all those who scorn my proposal to embargo Japanese products, let me tell you that Taiwan has done just that. The embargo does not apply to all items—but it does cut Japanese imports by over 25 percent. Since Taiwan is Japan's fifth largest market, according to *The New York Times*, this should give the Japanese something to think about. All the Taiwanese ask is that Japan open its domestic market to Taiwanese goods. The Japanese are beginning to fear we might do the same. One Japanese trade official, Kazuo Wakasugi, has said that if we do, "there would be no benefit for Japan to remain a member of the free world. If that happens we would probably join the communist bloc." And the chairman of Sony has said, according to *The Washington Post*'s Hobart Rowen, that "if Japan's industrial power were to be switched to the other side, the balance would be altered." This threat is one of the two reasons we have let Japan get away with its outrageous trade practices and its equally outrageous failure to pay its fair share of our common defense. It is nothing but blackmail and should be ignored by us.

The other reason we have hesitated to crack down on the Japanese is the fear of being called racists. Well, that should disappear now—after all, the Taiwanese are oriental too. . . .

Reagan's ambassadorial appointments have come under fire from the Foreign Service Association. Some of the criticism appears justified. The new ambassador to France, Griffin Galbraith, is a close friend not of the present president of France, but of his predecessor, who is detested by the incumbent. Joseph Reed, the new ambassador to Morocco, demonstrated his perception of the currents sweeping through Islam by urging the Carter administration to admit the Shah. But some of the criticism reflects the kind of snobbery that makes the members of the Foreign Service Association themselves so unattractive to many people abroad. For example, one of their reasons for objecting to the appointment of Gregory J. Newell as an assistant secretary of state is that he has no college degree. . . .

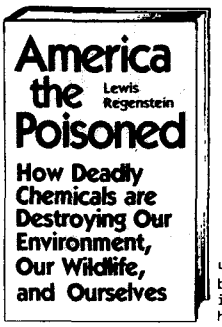
There has been a dramatic breakthrough in the culture of the expense account. A man in Pennsylvania is now selling blank restaurant receipts. The restaurants are imaginary, but the receipts look authentic. . . .

That recent report by a citizens' task force on the FAA's management, while deservedly critical in many respects, contained some amazing information on what has been accomplished since the PATCO strike.

"The Air Traffic Control System has been able to accommodate approximately 83

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the 20th Anniversary of Silent Spring there is nothing to celebrate



but this book.

420 pp. photos, bibliography, index. $16.95 hardcover

America the Poisoned by respected environmentalist Lewis Regenstein documents in vivid detail, how toxic chemicals are literally killing and disabling millions of Americans and contaminating our environment, sometimes permanently.

"A document of overpowering persuasiveness. Not since Rachel Carson alerted the nation to threats to the environment has anyone supplied such dramatic and crushing evidence." —*Norman Cousins*

Regenstein's proposal for cutting pesticides would actually allow us to grow more food, more cheaply. Solutions are offered for every dangerous toxic situation we face.

"If ever a book can stir anger into action, this is it." —*Les Whitten*

"Not since Rachel Carson's Silent Spring has a book so shockingly documented the chemical warfare that this nation's government and industry giants have waged on its own people." —*Jack Anderson*

Read this important book now while there is still time to do something about this tragedy of unprecedented proportions.

Mail Today

☐ **YES** send me _____ copies of **America the Poisoned** @ $16.95 + $1.50 postage and handling = $18.45 each.
(D.C. res. add 6% sales tax)

☐ My check for $_____ is enclosed.

☐ Charge to my credit card
☐ VISA ☐ MC ☐ AmEx

Card No. _____

Exp. date _____

Or CALL TOLL FREE 800-621-5199
(Illinois res. call 800-972-5855)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

Make check payable to:

ACROPOLIS BOOKS LTD. ☆
2400 17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009

percent of prestrike traffic with 42 percent of its prestrike work force. As a result nearly twice as many aircraft are handled per controller and the cost of operation has fallen by over 33 percent. In addition the rate of operating errors has been reduced by 36 percent."

This remarkable saving in costs and improvement in efficiency was made possible by one simple management change: smoothing out the traffic flow to eliminate the peak time periods (e.g., flights bunched around 5 p.m.) that had both required and strained a much larger staff. The change was made under the pressure of necessity after Reagan fired the striking controllers, but it could have been made anytime and is thus dramatic evidence of what could be done to cut the cost of government and improve its efficiency. . . .

I. F. Stone predicts that the next move of the Israelis on the West Bank will be to require the Arabs to wear special identification badges—perhaps a yellow crescent. . . . Speaking of your heroes turning into the bad guys, what about Harrison Wellford, one of Ralph Nader's great crusaders against industrial threats to health and the environment? He's now the head of a Washington law firm that represents the asbestos industry, one of the most dangerous of them all. I admired the Israelis and I admired Wellford. And I can't hate them for what they are doing now. Wellford worked in the public interest for years for peanuts. Israelis waited centuries for their promised land. They both deserve to enjoy, so I can understand their impatience. But I can't admire what they are doing now. . . .

The effectiveness of our system of criminal justice is suggested by a couple of episodes that occurred in Washington recently. The District police force launched a campaign against career criminals and within a week had arrested 24 persons who each had an average of five felony arrests on their records. Nineteen of the arrests were made on the basis of outstanding felony warrants, five because the accused were observed in the actual commission of crime. Before the week was out, most of the 24 arrested were also out—on bail—ready to strike again.

Shortly before, a Rufus Adams was convicted of murdering a woman by twisting a garrote around her neck and stabbing her more than a dozen times. Adams was free on parole at the time of the murder—free even though in a criminal career that began in 1963 he has been convicted of two armed rapes, two armed robberies, and assault with a dangerous weapon. He had been sentenced to seven to 21 years in Lorton Reformatory on his last conviction and was paroled after serving the minimum sentence.

Charlotte Jarvis, a D.C. council member and candidate for mayor has this solution for such repeat criminals: "They have psychological problems, so I have budgeted money for a full-time psychiatrist at Lorton." This is, in ludicrous extreme the typical liberal attitude toward violent crime. Based on a valid insight—that most violent criminals have psychological problems—the liberals' proposed remedies ignore the fact that most of these psychological problems are of such severity that they could not be cured by teams of brilliant psychiatrists working around the clock on each convict.

The most soft-headed of all the soft-hearted ideas about crime is that insanity should be defense. Since most violent criminals are insane to some considerable degree, insanity should be no defense. Society deserves to be protected from the insane just as much as it deserves protection from the "sane" criminal. The problem is that today it is getting protection from neither, and for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that, liberal approaches to bail, parole, and insanity must bear a large part of the blame. . . .

In 1975 I was in San Antonio and, like most tourists, made the ritual visit to the Alamo. After I had spent an hour or so absorbing the atmosphere of the place, I said to myself, "My God, this is why he did it." He was Lyndon Johnson; it was Vietnam. I felt I understood but I did not think I could ever explain what I understood. Ronnie Dugger does just that in his new book, *The Life and Times of Lyndon Johnson*—he says LBJ once told the National Security Council, "Hell, Vietnam is just like the Alamo." For that explanation alone his book will become essential for those who want to understand both Johnson and the war.

Once during the war, while Dugger was interviewing Johnson at the White House, the president suddenly started reciting:

" 'Surrender or die!'
'Men what will you do?'
"And Travis, great Travis, drew sword quick and strong.
"Drew a line at his feet. 'Will you come? Will you go?'
" 'I die with my wounded, in the Alamo.' ". . .

There are other people like the friends of Ronald Reagan whose lives are unscathed by the recession. *The Wall Street Journal* not long ago carried an article about one such island of the wealthy, Bronxville, New York. The item in the story that fascinated me the most was buried in the second column, so you might have missed it. It described a Miss Leslie Jackson, whose parents provide her with a comfortable home, a Mazda sports cars, and a membership in the exclusive Field Club, where she plays tennis clad in an outfit by Ralph Lauren. The reason I was interested in Miss Jackson is that, while she was playing tennis, she was collecting unemployment compensation. Perhaps those of

The more things change the more they stay the same.

Three timely, authoritative studies of U.S. foreign policy decisions and their impact on today's world.

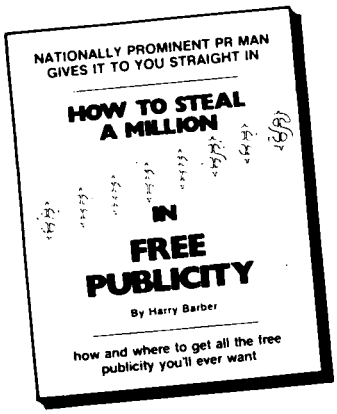
The CIA in Guatemala
THE FOREIGN POLICY OF INTERVENTION
by Richard H. Immerman Using documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, recently opened archival collections, and interviews with the actual collaborators, Immerman provides us with a definitive, powerfully written, and tension-packed account of the United States' clandestine operations and of their consequences in Central America today. **$24.50**

The Division of Europe after World War II: 1946
by W. W. Rostow Should the negotiation of the post–World War II peace treaties in Europe be pursued separately or should they be approached within the framework of a general European settlement? The debate on this fundamental foreign policy issue, which has left only faint tracks in the documentary record, is fully explored here for the first time. Rostow concludes that the Acheson-Clayton proposal may yet provide the West with a response to the abiding nationalism and rising desire for human freedom in Eastern Europe. **$8.95, paper $19.95, cloth**

The Road to OPEC
UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH VENEZUELA, 1919–1976
by Stephen G. Rabe The first study of twentieth-century Venezuelan-U.S. relations and of the fiery debates among U.S. oil companies, the Department of State, and the Venezuelan government over oil policies—clashes that led Venezuela to establish OPEC and to nationalize U.S.-owned properties. **$25.00**

University of Texas Press
Box 7819 Austin, Texas 78712

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



This remarkable book shows you...

- **How to professionally prepare news releases and articles so they will be accepted by the media.**
- **How to develop your mailing lists.**
- **How to work with the news media.**
- **How to measure the effectiveness of your publicity**
- **Dozens of ways to secure additional publicity at nominal cost.**
- **Over 600 outlets for free publicity and reference to thousands of additional sources.**

In this comprehensive publicity guide, Harry Barber eliminates the mystique of "free publicity" shows you in detailed, step-by-step procedures, how and where to get it- all the free publicity you'll ever want for yourself or your organization.

How To Steal A Million $ In Free Publicity is the ideal reference guide for business owners, corporate executives, political groups, non-profit organizations, and individuals in all walks of life.

About the author—
Nationally prominent advertising and public relations executive, Harry Barber, gives it to you straight in his latest book.

The author has developed hundreds of publicity campaigns in conjunction with screen and television personalities, US Astronauts, USAC Racing, major corporations, and private individuals.

Only $14.95 postpaid
SATISFACTION GUARANTEED!

Success Sellers
Publishers & Booksellers
P.O. Box 16801
Irvine, CA 92713

Please rush me a copy of Harry Barber's book, *HOW TO STEAL A MILLION $ IN FREE PUBLICITY*. I enclose $14.95.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

you who have opposed our proposal to deny the rich the benefits of the government's various income maintenance programs will now repent your error and join our great crusade...

By the way, did you know that in Canada income tax applies to social security benefits? If ours did, the deficit could be reduced by $12 billion this year. And since the income tax is progressive, of course the burden would fall on those who could afford to pay.... Not, however, if Ed Meese has his way. He recently told a Washington gathering that he opposed the progressive income tax as "immoral." (For more on Meese see Who's Who in this issue.)...

I'm sure I'll get more letters complaining about my position on prayer than I got about my discussion of Jonathan Schell's *Fate of the Earth*, and there were a lot of them (some will appear in "Letters" next month). Many thought my comments meant I was indifferent to nuclear dangers. Far from it. I trembled when I read, in a Reuters story dated March 17, "Iran is to start importing nuclear technology again" and when I saw a report in the May 13 *Washington Post* predicting Argentina will have the bomb soon. On the same day, by the way, the Associated Press reported, on the basis of testimony by Eugene V. Rostow, the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, that "there is a feeling in many parts of the administration" in favor of testing nuclear weapons above 150 kilitons—which just happens to be the limit we agreed to in a treaty negotiated several years ago. I also derived little comfort from Judith Miller's report in *The New York Times* of May 9 that "installations in Western Europe used for storing American nuclear warheads continue to be vulnerable to assault by terrorists."

Probably the most dismaying fact of all is the powerlessness of the agency that is supposed to be the watchdog of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. It is called the International Atomic Energy Agency. Jack Anderson got hold of a confidential General Accounting Office report that showed the IAEA's weaknesses:

"—Politically motivated 'safeguards' allow any signatory nation to reject individual inspectors arbitrarily. This provision has evolved into a wholesale rejection of inspectors on grounds of politics or nationality. The effect has been to limit the makeup of inspection teams to individuals from 'friendly' countries.

"—Even if a truly neutral inspector is allowed onto an IAEA team, there is still little chance that illegal activity will be discovered. IAEA inspectors do not have unlimited access on their inspections.

"—The technical equipment available to IAEA teams if often inadequate. Much of it is not sensitive enough to detect losses of nuclear material that might have been diverted to bombs.

"—Finally, the IAEA doesn't have the necessary expertise to check out the most dangerous kinds of nuclear facilities. Though IAEA inspectors are competent to check the light-water power reactors that were once the norm, they aren't very good with the reprocessing and enrichment plants that have increased in recent years."

Such plants are key to the proliferation issue because they can provide direct access to materials that can be used for weapons.

So it's not that I don't share your nuclear anxieties. My concern is simply that they not become a monomaniacal obsession—shutting liberals off from other problems that have high potential for doing us serious harm.

Another danger is that a nuclear freeze, once attained, would have the same effect as the achievement

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963, namely, to defuse for years thereafter concern about nuclear dangers. That concern must, I suspect, be a permanent part of our lives. Nukes are like handguns—no amount of control can ever put the genie completely back in the bottle. . . .

The truth about the plight of the savings and loan industry could not have been revealed more dramatically than by the announcement by the Metropolitan Banking Savings and Loan League that its annual meeting, instead of the usual three days at the luxurious Homestead in Hot Springs, Virginia, will be at a local hotel and last for two hours. . . . On the morning before *The Sheffield* was sunk, Drew Middleton's story in *The New York Times* began, "British naval sources say the Argentinians have shown a significant lack of understanding of the power and accuracy of air-launched missiles.". . .

Those of you who remember Senator Bob Packwood's remarks about the irrelevance of the president's anecdotes will be interested in these paragraphs toward the end of Howell Raines's report in *The New York Times* of Reagan's visit to Fort Wayne, a town with a jobless rate of 13.7 percent:

"In a speech earlier that day, he said he was touched by the 'suffering behind the statistics.' But when he addressed the elderly flood refugees in the gym at the Precious Blood School, he. . . . offered a rambling anecdote about a speech he once made as company spokesman in a General Electric Company plant in Owensboro, Kentucky. The connecting link in Mr. Reagan's mind was the fact that in the G.E. plant and in the flood victims' shelter, he spoke from atop a cafeteria table.

"The time and space constraints of daily newspaper and television reports are such that it is difficult to convey the peculiar flavor of such Reagan anecdotes.". . .

I guess nothing is worrying me more these days than those "time constraints of daily newspaper and television reports." The resulting condensation of facts can be seriously misleading. Proposals to eliminate planned *increases* in social security are presented to the public as social security cuts, and panic among the elderly is the result. Similarly, the elimination of scheduled decreases in income taxes are invariably expressed in the headlines as proposed "tax increases" or "tax raises," creating understandable anxiety on the part of the average taxpayer.

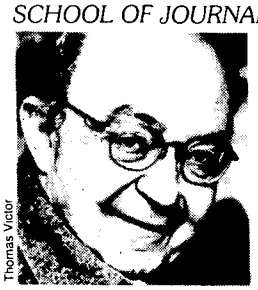
Worse still is the media's refusal to take on important issues relating to the budget and the economy. For example, as Jonathan Alter points out in his article beginning on page 12, the crucial role of the Federal Reserve is almost never explained. This is information the public needs. Instead, as the country is in danger of plunging into a depression that could be devastating, the headlines and nightly news have been dominated by the Falkland Islands and the Hinckley trial.

The media makes the decisions of what events to cover and what not to cover, what to report briefly and what to examine thoroughly. The decisions it has been making this spring have been dismayingly bad. The most absurd example is the amount of your viewing time that the networks have squandered on pictures of Margaret Thatcher getting into and out of automobiles in front of 10 Downing Street.

But all is not lost. *Time*'s eight-page cover story on social security in its May 24 issue, although unimaginative in its proposals, was a step in the right direction. And, while it hasn't been nearly thorough enough in its appraisal of the 1983 defense budget, press coverage of defense issues generally has improved vastly in the last few years.

—*Charles Peters*

"The master storyteller of American politics
here sums up a quarter century of Presidential elections.... Must reading for anyone who wants to know where we may be going next."
—OSBORN ELLIOTT, DEAN, COLUMBIA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM


Thomas Victor

A Book-of-the-Month Club Main Selection

America in Search of Itself
THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT 1956-1980
Theodore H. White

Harper & Row A Cornelia and Michael Bessie Book

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEFROCKING THE FED

by Jonathan Alter

Economists, like alley cats, are a contentious lot, but right now there is general agreement on what has caused the country's serious illness. The cause is high interest rates, which in turn are commonly and correctly believed to be the product of two other things: excessive government borrowing that results from deficits, and the monetary policies of the Federal Reserve Board.

Suppose for a minute that by sheer dint of effort the government's deficit spending is actually brought under some control. That still leaves the second half of the problem. Who is going to bring the Federal Reserve Board under control? This is a question often raised by gold bugs, populists, and destitute homebuilders who send sawed off two-by-fours to Washington. It is not a question often raised by the rest of us.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WALTER BENNETT

If you wonder how so critical an element in the greatest economic collapse since the Great Depression can avoid greater scrutiny, look first to the press. Although a recent survey indicated the Washington press corps believes Fed Chairman Paul Volcker is the second most powerful man in the country, he continues to puff away on his cigar virtually undisturbed. Not only does Volcker grant few interviews and hold no news conferences, according to his spokesman there is no *demand* for news conferences. The toughest of reporters, the ones who spend dozens of weeks and as many column inches scrutinizing a less influential figure like James Watt, somehow find Volcker and his power unfathomable. No major newspaper has ever laid a glove on him—or even really tried.

A related reason the Fed gets off so easily is Congress. Despite the anguished cries of constituents peering over the precipice, most members still know next to nothing about the Fed and believe, wrongly, that it is somehow an independent agency beyond their control. In truth, the U.S. Constitution gives *Congress* the right to "coin money, regulate the value thereof" (Article I, Section 8). The Federal Reserve was set up by Congress in 1913 as a way of fulfilling that responsibility. It is in no way autonomous.

But you wouldn't know it from looking. The Fed is exempt from the congressional appropriation process. It is exempt from any GAO audits of its most important function—monetary policy. It is exempt from civil service requirements. It is exempt from the iron rules and often tasteless aesthetics of the General Services Administration. It is exempt from certain Freedom of Information Act inquiries into the operation of its all-powerful Federal Open Market Committee. It is exempt, in its monetary responsibilities, from currently popular regulatory reform efforts to gain greater control over unaccountable agencies of government.

Volcker, so proud of his toughness, so noble-looking if you happen to still have a job, somehow made a virtue out of shutting down the economy. The mystique of the Fed convinced the rest of us that there was no other choice.

Why such a remarkably long leash? Why have the press and Congress refrained from concerning themselves with the Fed's business, even when the product of that business is a recession that throws millions out of work? The answer is that the Federal Reserve has succeeded in disarming potential critics by creating an aura of mystery and wonder around itself—a sort of banker's Bali Ha'i. Whatever its true economic performance (and it is by no means stellar), the success of that imagery has meant that the Fed gets treated differently than other agencies—so differently, in fact, that over the years it has almost ceased to be viewed as an agency of representative government at all.

The Phone Never Rings

Despite the allure and mysticism that always has been attached to money, the Fed was not an exceptionally prestigious institution at its birth. The 1913 legislation was a compromise between easy credit Democrats who had battled the idea of a central bank since before Andrew Jackson, and Republican-represented financial interests who

Jonathan Alter is an editor of The Washington Monthly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

used the debilitating panics that frequently buffeted the American economy as an argument for greater control. The result was a jerry-built central bank without much authority.

But if it took decades before the Federal Reserve reached the status it holds today, something else was happening in those years that would eventually bode well for an institution like the Fed. That impulse, first felt around the turn of the century, was to delegate society's important tasks to groups of professionals believed to have greater expertise than everyone else. In 1922 Walter Lippmann wrote a famous book called *Public Opinion,* expressing the growing feeling. Lippmann urged a generation to reject the "insatiable and unworkable fiction that each of us must acquire a competent opinion about public affairs." The common interest, he wrote portentously, could best be handled by a "specialized class."

Of course the problem with this specialized class idea has always been that for all its supposed advantages, it clashes quite strongly with another idea—namely American democracy. In the years since professionalism firmly entrenched itself, the best way to make sure the two ideas didn't clash has been to develop some form of popular supervision, or at least some skepticism.

The skepticism has historically been the responsibility of a vigilant and free press, but in the case of the Federal Reserve, it didn't quite work out that way. With a few recent exceptions, the press has never shown much interest in hard reporting on monetary policy. Maybe it was too dull or complicated, but whatever the reason, inadequate coverage of the economy as a whole grew to the point where in the 1970s, when the world cried out for sharp, analytical reporting about what went wrong, it wasn't to be found. Even today the questions asked on Sunday morning television interview programs are almost always political ("Will President Reagan support Chairman Volcker?") rather than economic ("Is there any contradiction between the president's pro-growth position and the chairman's tight money position?").

One reason the press never developed a strong interest in the Federal Reserve was that in the years after World War II the public lost much of the resentment it had long harbored toward bankers. During the Depression, the banks were the ones who foreclosed on your house or lost your money by going bust. They were the enemy. But New Deal reforms such as deposit insurance brought with them an unusually durable kind of respectability. Trust, the bankers like to call it. The post-war years were so prosperous that the classic popular image of financiers as blood-sucking conspirators seemed gone forever. The children of the people who heckled J.P. Morgan as his carriage rolled past grew up to buy Henry Luce's magazines celebrating David Rockefeller.

As far as the Fed itself was concerned, the culmination of all this new respect was the rise of the monetarist school of economic theory, which places the most important function of the Fed—control of the money supply—at the very center of

THE FED'S VIEW OF MONETARY POLICY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

economic policy. Monetarists do not often approve of the Fed's behavior; in fact, today, although the Fed is pursuing a broadly monetarist policy, the purists of this school are among its fiercest critics. Nonetheless, the monetarist faith in the *function* of the Fed is now so strong, and the monetarists themselves are now so dominant (all but a handful of university economics departments around the country are run by them), that the Fed is revered as the temple in which all should pray. Economists of almost every persuasion stand in total awe of the institution. "On no matter is their instruction of the young in the subtlety and benignity of established institutions more admiring," John Kenneth Galbraith writes.

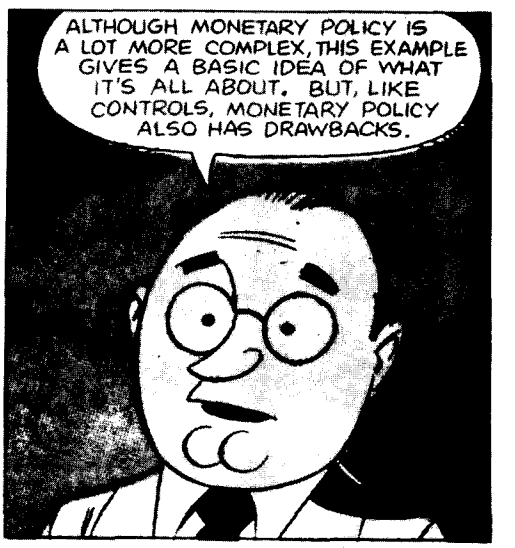
As this aura filters through to the rest of the respectable world of leaders and thinkers, Congress itself cannot help but be caught up in it. The situation parallels that of defense, where men in uniform, particularly before the Vietnam war turned into a disaster, could go up to Capitol Hill and say, in effect, "Look. These are complex matters that are too difficult for mere mortals and distracted congressmen to understand." Jake Lewis, a long-time House banking committee staff member points to the example of Arthur Burns, who left the White House staff in 1970 to become chairman of the Fed. "If Burns had become, say, secretary of HEW, he would have been chewed up all over the Hill. Instead, he went to the Fed, where he was cleansed overnight. That's what this kind of respectability can do for you."

Because the press has never made it the big issue it should be, most congressmen know very little about the Fed, and care to know even less. "If you talk about a naval base closing, their eyes bulge," says North Dakota Rep. Byron Dorgan. "But when you start talking about the Fed, their eyes get cloudy." Neither Henry Reuss nor his predecessor as chairman of the House banking committee, Wright Patman, was ever able to get his colleagues interested in joining their crusades against the Fed. Reuss suggests that part of the problem is ignorance. Most congressmen are simply unaware that they ultimately bear almost as much responsibility for monetary policy as they do for fiscal policy. The only thing that many understand about the Fed, he adds, is what its chairman tells them in genteel lobbying sessions.

Although Volcker makes several trips each year to Capitol Hill, his most effective lobbying is conducted at the Federal Reserve's Washington buildings, the grandeur of which provides some indication of why smitten congressmen mistake the Fed for a fourth branch of government. Suffice it to say that the inside of the headquarters at 20th and Constitution N.W. looks very different from the department of interior building across the street. If the squash courts don't convince you, consider the art exhibits in the elegant foyer. The exhibit this spring was entitled "The Hague School and Its American Legacy."

This air of Smithsonian refinement conveys not only the way the Fed views itself, but the way it hopes others will imagine it. The closer it approxi-

COURTESY OF FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mates the aura of a tasteful, trustworthy bank, the less likely it is to get pushed around like just another agency. It's impossible to over-emphasize the almost languid confidence and solidness the place exudes. A former senior staff member at the Federal Reserve who also has worked on Capitol Hill recalls the effect of the ambience on a congressman who had driven over for a small private breakfast with the chairman:

"Your car pulls into the Fed garage and you are whooshed up to the chairman's private dining room, which looks out over the Washington Monument, the Jefferson Memorial, and half the rest of the city. It is not only highly elegant, but quiet, very quiet. These congressmen have just come from noisy offices where phones and buzzers and constituents are ringing in their ears all the time. Now they're in the Fed and the phone never, *ever* rings. If there is a call, the phone is simply brought into the dining area. Maybe it's Brussels calling the chairman. But he's in no hurry. Everything's very slow, and impressive for its slowness.

"Now it's time for business, either here or back in his office. The chairman may tell you about some pending applications from big financial institutions in your district. Or the current status of a merger. Or some very up-to-date information about economic conditions in your area. The board's staff spends hours accumulating just this kind of detail about congressional districts.

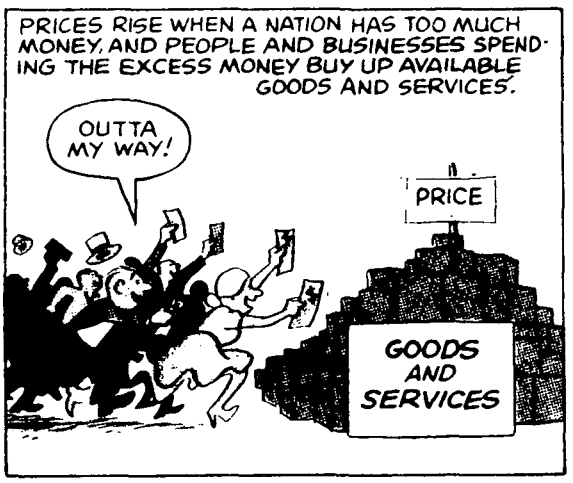
"When the congressman leaves he's got two things in his mind. First, a lot of new information from what he considers to be a very important, respectable source, and second, a belief that no matter how confident he is, no matter how much he thinks he knows about money, they know more."

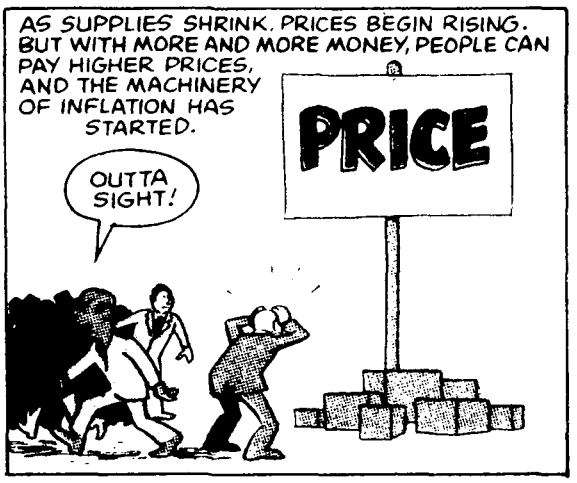
THE FED'S VIEW OF INFLATION

These congressional breakfasts traditionally have been held by Fed chairmen once or twice a week, and they are enormously effective in holding Congress at bay. But the Fed has an even more potent weapon in the form of what Milton Friedman calls its natural constituency: commercial banks. In addition to having responsibility for the money supply, the Federal Reserve also handles a large share of banking regulation. Thus Volcker has leverage over bankers, who in turn have leverage over congressmen, not only directly, but through their own borrowers: small businessmen, real estate owners and others who know it never hurts to do a little lobbying to keep their bankers happy.

As Reuss notes, Volcker knows how to call out the banking constituencies when he needs them. He also knows how to establish a hold over them. That helps explain why two years ago the Fed chairman was up on Capitol Hill lobbying hard—much harder than usual—for something called the Monetary Control Act. A major effect of the bill was to expand the number of banks that fall under certain Fed regulations.

One might expect these days that congressmen would feel a little anti-Fed pressure from home, and once in a while they do. But don't forget the power of the respectable idea. If the local editorial page editor has to choose between his congressman's attack on the Fed and the smooth, seasoned judgment of a Walter Wriston or Paul Volcker, the congressman is a likely loser. Lashing out at politicians in Congress and the administration for the condition of the economy is so much easier for most people than attacking professionals and experts. This is particularly true for the people in the community whose voices would carry the most weight in the first place—namely other professionals and experts.





COURTESY OF FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of course, the ability of the Fed employees to "intellectually blow you out of the water with their torpedoes," as one Senate aide puts it, is largely the function of the particular profession to which they belong. Seven out of seven of the Fed's governors are economists by training, and although most of them have experience in banks, all but one or two should be considered economists first and bankers second. As for representing farmers or small businessmen or others who might have some sense of what it is like to go out and get a loan, the Fed handles those concerns through "advisory councils."

Nancy Teeters, the first and only woman appointed to the board, notes that it would take six months to a year for a non-economist, however smart, to "get up to speed" as a governor. Exhibit A nowadays among some Fed staff members is the case of G. William Miller, the highly successful businessman whose short tenure as a Carter-appointed chairman is recalled at the Federal Reserve with a rolling of the eyeballs. Non-economists at the Fed find themselves at a near total loss. Joseph Coyne, the appropriately named Fed spokesman, confesses that when reviewing economic reports he sometimes just throws up his hands in despair, uttering the familiar metaphor about Greek. The Fed has about 400 economics Ph.D.s in Washington, giving it a substantial advantage in any paper wars with Congress or the White House.

"After his visit to the Fed, the congressman leaves with a belief that no matter how confident he is, no matter how much he thinks he knows about money, they know more."

Assuming a normal ratio of credentialed economists to statements of obfuscation, it isn't too hard to figure out how congressmen and reporters become a little confused. This is despite the fact that the broad outlines of monetary policy are only a little more complicated than telecommunications or energy or any number of other subjects that routinely come to their attention. But having let themselves be intimidated by "M1b" and "velocity" and other jargon, most have given up trying. The assumption is that the economists will take care of it, and they have—with about the same success rate as astrologers.

A Procrustean Fed

So where has this deference to the priesthood of the Fed taken us? Try ten-percent unemployment, zero GNP growth, a rash of bankruptcies, and the lowest corporate profits in years. Congress and the president didn't do anything last year to create these conditions. They simply endorsed Volcker's scheme for fighting inflation, which is to make money a little tighter each year, regardless of what else is going on in the economy.

To understand this scheme and how it helped cause the recession, we have to go back to October 1979, when Volcker changed the Fed's operating procedures. If the Depression of the 1930s can be dated back to October 1929, the Recession (so far) of the early 1980s can be said to find some of its origins in actions exactly 50 years later.

Before explaining why that's so, it might be helpful to run quickly through the way the Fed controls the money supply. First, the supply has little to do with printing presses. This obvious point has to be made because the metaphor is used so often that people actually believe it is true. If it were, of course, every billion-dollar increase in the money supply would mean a lot of late-night cranking over at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

What happens instead is that the Federal Open Market Committee, which consists of seven Fed governors plus five of the 12 presidents of the regional Fed banks, meets in secret every few weeks to set targets for money growth. As an indication of the Fed's attitude toward the outside world, consider that these targets for money growth—as critical as they are to the economy—were entirely hidden from Congress before 1975. Now the Fed must release the targets twice a year, but only long after they have been decided.

There are three major ways the Fed uses the targets to control the money supply: reserve requirements (how much the banks and other financial institutions have to keep in the freezer), the discount rate (how much interest the Fed itself charges when it chooses to lend to banks), and open market operations. The last of these does the lion's share of controlling the money supply.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Open market operations are based in a room in the Fed's New York bank that resembles a big bookie joint. Every weekday morning at 11:15, an economist there talks on the phone to a representative of the committee in Washington to receive target instructions. Then 12 Fed employees in the bookie joint scramble to their phones and call securities dealers to determine the day's prices. According to the committee's instructions, they then start trading in various kinds of securities. Billions of dollars in securities get exchanged in an average day—all within little more than a half an hour. It is this activity that determines the money supply. When the Fed buys securities, it is injecting more money into the economy. When it sells, money is getting drained.

In other words, instead of actually printing more bills, the Fed increases the money supply simply by writing a check out of nowhere for the securities it buys. If you wonder what lies behind those checks (or electronic transfers) the answer is Federal Reserve-backed "legal tender," or dollar bills. The Fed theoretically promises to print more bills if security-holders demand them, which explains the printing-press metaphor. In any event, the new money the Fed creates in this fashion ends up in the reserves of the nation's banks, which then have more to lend out, thus increasing the total amount of money in the economy.

All of this open-market business has been true since 1934, but before October 1979 the Fed did something else, too. It used open market operations to control short-term interest rates through the "federal funds rate," which is the amount of interest banks are allowed to charge each other. When that was fixed by the Fed's trading efforts, short-term interest was also fixed. Control of the rates was a major preoccupation of all Fed boards.

After the October surprise, which represented the official Fed acceptance of the monetarist approach, these rates became unfixed. The reason Volcker decided to let them float freely within a much broader range is that according to monetarist doctrine, the Fed should be concentrating on measuring its money supply (through a gauge called M-1) rather than determining interest rates. The monetarist credo is that if you just concentrate on steadily reducing the growth in the money supply and ignore interest rates, inflation will be stopped and those rates will come down on their own accord.

Milton Friedman has confessed that he is "puzzled" by the failure of the economy to respond this way. Volcker shrugs his shoulders a lot these days, predicting interest rates will come down "soon." They knew that interest rates would be more volatile after the change, but according to monetarist gospel, the rates should be fluctuating at a much lower level. Friedman and other purists have jumped all over Volcker for technical reasons related to the way he operates various Fed spigots, but basically the Fed and the purists and everyone else who wants to let the market handle interest rates now must eat crow.

Is inflation today's major problem? Are merchants shooing eager customers away from their counters with the words, "Stop, don't chase my goods with your money?"

Take the interest on six-month treasury bills as an indicator. In the months before October 1979, when the Fed cared about watching things like this, the open market committee assured that the rate stayed in the ten-percent range. By early 1980, when the market determined it, the range was 14 to 16 percent. Credit controls imposed by Carter brought it down artificially for awhile, but its "market" level is clearly higher than when it was controlled. The rate in today's deep recession stands in the 12- to 13-percent range.

It is generally agreed that the recession can't end until interest rates come down, and the Fed, by focusing exclusively on the money supply, is no longer officially concerning itself with interest rates. Through its insistence on ignoring interest rates, it has locked itself into a policy—reduction in money supply growth even when the economy is in decline—that is by its nature oblivious to the real world.

You might think that the Fed could bring interest rates down simply by increasing the money supply—that is, giving the banks and everyone else a little more oxygen. According to any freshman supply and demand curve, if the banks had more, they would lend more at a lower price, thus helping to revive the economy. Many economists see this as self-evident.

But the Fed doesn't buy that. It argues that once financial markets become convinced that the Fed is abandoning its monetarist anti-inflation fight, they would grow so disconsolate and embit-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tered they'd keep interest rates at least as high as they are now. "Inflationary expectations," the argument is called, and it lies at the very heart of the Fed's unwillingness to loosen up.

What this argument ignores—and this is an essential point—is the distinction between *long*-term and *short*-term interest. On long-term interest, the Fed has a case. If the bond market—a long-term institution—believes that inflation cannot be stopped, it will remain very hesitant about the future, and long-term interest rates will not drop.

But according to economists who follow the bond market, those institutions that care about long-term inflation *don't watch money supply very closely*. What does an increase of this percentage or that in the money supply in a given month or year have to do with what will happen ten years down the road, which is the bond market's primary concern? The long-term trends these people worry about are things like five-year projected federal deficits and multi-year labor contracts. Restraint in these areas is essential because it determines in their minds whether there will be inflation in the future.

As for short-term interest rates, if the Fed would be willing to reconsider its October 1979 decision, it could simply lower them. But even if it doesn't, there is little evidence that short-term markets would fear inflation in the *short-term*, the 90 days or six months from now when these loans must be paid off. If money supply targets were expanded, how could they possibly develop "inflationary expectations" that would mean anything in the short time-period in which they operate? The economy won't be roaring back in six months. If we're lucky it might be just beginning to dust off its derriere to return to work.

This leads us to the gist of where the Fed has gone wrong. How can Volcker or anyone else believe that in the short-term—that is, right now—inflation is the major evil we face? The classic definition of inflation is "too much money chasing too few goods." With the exception of the money thrown toward defense-related industries by the Pentagon, this hardly sounds like an *au courant* explanation. Does it strike *you* as our major problem today? Are merchants shooing eager customers away from their counters with the words, "Stop, don't chase my goods with your money"? Are investors currently "overheating" the economy?

Paul Volcker apparently thinks so. So far no one has been willing to make him think otherwise.

Behind the Headlines...

Paul Simon

THE ONCE AND FUTURE DEMOCRATS

Strategies for Change

"This book is a brilliant alternative for the Democratic future because it is based on the enduring principles of the Democratic past." —*Senator Edward M. Kennedy*

"One of the most thoughtful and thorough studies of where the Democratic Party has been and where it must go." —*Walter F. Mondale*

"Timely and convincing." —*Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill, Jr.*

"Simon's book explodes the current myth: a swing to the right." —*Studs Terkel* $12.95

Daniel C. Maguire

THE NEW SUBVERSIVES

Anti-Americanism of the Religious Right

A leading American ethicist exposes the serious threat to American freedom posed by the radical religious right. The clearest—and strongest—statement to date. $9.95

Alfred Bloch, Editor

THE REAL POLAND

An Anthology of National Self-Perception

Brings together for the first time in English insightful essays by 19th- and 20th-century native observers of Polish reality and national aspirations, shedding new light on the current situation. $15.95

At your bookstore, or from

CONTINUUM

The Continuum Publishing Company

575 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Afraid of Appeasement

If you believe, as monetarists do, that reducing the growth in the money supply is the only way to stop inflation, then you also tend to believe that this same money supply was itself the only *cause* of inflation. Both ideas are equally daffy.

The loose money supply of the 1970s was a *response* to inflation caused by other things, like OPEC and wild swings in commodity prices. The problem with the monetarists, says James Tobin, 1981 Nobel laureate, is that they don't believe OPEC had much to do with inflation. They claim it was the accommodation of OPEC by the Fed, not oil shocks, that did us in. Superficially, they're right. "It's easy to say we wouldn't have had inflation in the wake of OPEC if we had stuck to our money supply targets," Tobin concludes. "But we also would have had catastrophic unemployment. There wouldn't have been enough money around to pay for anything but oil."

So that brings us back to the same old bottom-line answer to inflation that, rhetoric aside, always comprised the monetarist and Republican position: start a recession. The shameful thing is that this has become not just the favored way, but the *only* way of assaulting inflation. The arsenal of the Fed was left to blast away all alone. Volcker, so proud of his toughness, so noble-looking if you happen to still have a job, somehow made a virtue out of shutting down the economy.

Meanwhile, the rest of us were suckered into believing that there was actually no other choice, *that it had to be done.* Well, it didn't have to be done, and we don't have to condemn ourselves to a lifetime of this kind of medicine. Jimmy Carter failed, but he did not discredit other means of fighting inflation. If monetarism is the economics of utter hopelessness (only dead economies, not human beings, can stop inflation), then the logical response must be an attack on inflation that places as much responsibility as possible on us.

That entails a whole new liberal agenda of things like standby gas-rationing authority and a policy to prohibit wage increases unless they are accompanied by productivity increases. It means cracking down on the follies of the commodities markets that have added so much to the cost of food, and regulating the doctors and hospitals that have so driven up the cost of health care. Most of all, it means ending the widespread and suicidal automatic cost-of-living increases in wages and benefits that have made the disease of inflation a permanent part of our lives. These things *can* be done, as we learned last year with OPEC, which once seemed so invincible. In fact, the breaking of OPEC's hammerlock through reduced oil imports helped reduce inflation well before the Fed's plan did, and with none of the pain.

We sometimes forget that it is indeed possible to have it all. Low interest rates, contrary to today's unchallenged wisdom, are not by themselves inflationary. Much of our history has featured low interest and low inflation side-by-side. Take the late 1940s, a comparable period because the country was then also coming off a period of high inflation, prompted by World War II. Long-term interest rates hovered around one percent in those years, and so did inflation.

But those are not the historical analogies called to mind by today's economists. Now we are back under the spell of inflation history. Just as many economists of the 1930s looked back to the experience of hyper-inflation after World War I and pronounced that the economy must "expel its poisons through depression" (Joseph Schumpeter), so today we hope to "squeeze out" what ails us. The searing historical memories that have come to haunt our views—the "Munichs," to borrow a foreign policy metaphor for misused history—date from the late 1960s and early 1970s. Sit a man of affairs down for a chat on the origins of inflation, and he'll more than likely subject you to a discussion of how Lyndon Johnson pumped up the economy to fight in Vietnam and Richard Nixon convinced Arthur Burns to help him get reelected.

There is some truth to these stories, but little sense in the degree to which they have come to shape our attitudes; no more, in fact, than the effect Neville Chamberlain's appeasement at Munich had on a generation of people facing very different foreign policy questions. Burns's 1972 rapid expansion of money supply, for instance, did indeed contribute to the inflation that followed, but it played nowhere near the role monetarists attribute to it. Consider what else was happening in a one-year period around the time of Burns's action: the lifting of wage and price controls; the Soviet wheat deal complete with the devastating farm price increase it produced the next year; and the 1973 Arab oil embargo. In short, the inflation of those years was not just the product of an increase in the money supply, it was also the product of external events—events that monetarism doesn't even begin to address.

Reining in Righteousness

Former Fed chairman William McChesney Martin once described the job of the Federal Reserve as "taking the punch bowl away just when the party is getting merry." This is not an objectionable function, and the Fed is not, by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

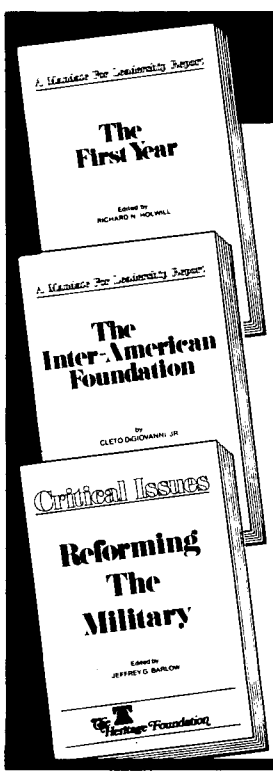
definition, an objectionable institution. From time to time the party does get a bit too merry, as it did in the 1960s.

But the real issue is the attitude of the person who holds the punch bowl, who decides when the guests are too drunk, and when, as it looks like now, they are too sober. That person should be someone who lets the guests play some role in deciding what they want to drink. "The old theory of the Fed is that democracy can't be trusted," says Galbraith. "I can't accept that."

Galbraith's view, that "bankers are not above the law," is one that once held a place of honor in the American mind. The first hundred years of our history were marked by inspired public debates over monetary issues like silver and, for many years, interest rates. Politicians and parties rose and fell on these issues. Contrary to the fears of those who oppose politicizing the Fed, easy credit didn't often win out. Banking and financial interests were strong, too—stronger, in fact, than the creditors—and their influence usually carried the day on Capitol Hill.

We need not condemn ourselves to the chaos of those years nor abandon professionalism in order to reassert the right of the people at the receiving end of monetary policy to have more influence, through their elected officials, in the shaping of such vital decisions. Reining in today's Federal Reserve doesn't mean smashing it, though Congress could do that if it wanted to. It might, however, require eliminating the Fed's special exemptions, starting with the appropriation process. The Fed would have to appear each year like every other agency, hat in hand, waiting for an appropriation from its rightful master. That has a way of breaking down arrogance a bit. More concretely, Congress should require that the Fed reverse its October 1979 decision, and begin to determine short-term interest rates again. Congress should also not hesitate to direct the Fed to change its money supply targets to meet current circumstances.

I can already hear the clucking from the editorial writers and think-tank experts. Hasn't Congress bungled fiscal policy? Why let it get its paws into monetary affairs? These objections are best answered with yet another question: Have we liked the effects of the monetary policy brought to us by Lippmann's specialized class? Indeed, the remedy for the imperfections of democracy is not less democracy, but more. The issues at stake are not the value-free formulations of scientists, but matters of wealth and fairness and just about everything else at the very heart of representative government. □



Studies from 'President Reagan's Favorite Think Tank'

The First Year: A Mandate for Leadership Report
edited by Richard N. Holwill
A comprehensive analysis of the successes and shortcomings of the Reagan Administration after the first year in office.
$6.95, paperback; $10.95, hardcover—1982, 357 pages

The Inter-American Foundation
by Cleto DiGiovanni, Jr.
Cleto DiGiovanni examines the unique structure and purpose of the Inter-American Foundation as a means to respond to requests for aid in Latin America and the Carribean.
$4.00—1982, 89 pages

Reforming the Military
edited by Jeffrey G. Barlow
Five respected military analysts suggest alternatives to arrest the decline in U.S. general purpose forces in the context of overall national strategy and a body of tactics for each service based on a continuing study of military history.
$3.00—1981, 44 pages

To order Heritage publications please call or write to:

The Heritage Foundation
Dept. M • 513 C Street, N.E. • Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-4400

If you would like more information about Heritage publications please ask for the complimentary Heritage Publications Catalogue listing over 300 Heritage publications.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHO'S WHO in the Administration

White House insiders assure you that their resident Soviet expert, **Richard Pipes**, has little access to the president and no real power. So, they argue, you shouldn't worry about his excursions into the more exotic forms of super-hardlining. What worries us is that the gentlemen in the Kremlin might not be privy to this inside information—or might not believe it, as hawks everywhere tend to discount dovish intelligence—and might be taking Pipes' views as the real American position.

Our reports about **James Baker**'s attempts to undermine **Ed Meese** were recently confirmed in an article about Baker in *The Texas Monthly*. Written by Taylor Branch, a contributing editor of this magazine, it calls Meese "a roving mistake in search of a title," and adds: "There have also been stories suggesting that Meese too often leaves the command center to make trivial political speeches and that he mishandled the administration's policy on tax exemption for segregated private schools. Baker had complicity in all these leaks."

In

WHITE HOUSE

Director of Public Affairs—**Michael E. Baroody** has been deputy assistant to the president.

Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget—**Joseph R. Wright Jr.** has been a deputy secretary in the commerce department.

Special Assistant to the President for Communications—**Joanna E. Bistany** has been an aide to communications director David R. Gergen.

Special Assistant to the President—**Melvin L. Bradley** has been a senior consultant in the office of policy development for urban affairs and housing.

Special Assistant to the President—**Wendell Wilkie Gunn** has been an assistant treasurer at PepsiCo Inc.

Deputy Assistant to the President—**Michael A. McManus** has been a lawyer for Pfizer Inc., a pharmaceutical company.

AGRICULTURE

Assistant Secretary for Governmental and Public Affairs—**Paul S. Weller** has been vice president for public affairs at the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives.

COMMERCE

Deputy Secretary—**Guy W. Fiske** has been an undersecretary in the energy department.

AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS

CIA
Deputy Director—**John N. McMahon** has been executive director of the agency.

Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Member—**James K. Asseltine** has been associate counsel for the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee.

Out

White House
Assistant to the President for Personnel—**E. Pendleton James** will leave in June.

Special Assistant for Policy Development—**Doug L. Bandow** is the new editor of *Inquiry* magazine.

Special Assistant to the President—**Dennis M. Kass** is returning to private employment.

Defense
Director of Manpower Management—**John C.F. Tillson** has been dismissed after allegations that he leaked embarrassing budget figures to the press.

Education
Undersecretary—**William C. Clohan Jr.** has resigned at the request of the administration.

Undersecretary for Management—**Kurt Lloyd** has resigned to run for California state treasurer.

Energy
Secretary—**James B. Edwards** will resign to become president of the Medical University of South Carolina.

State
Ambassador to Austria—**Theodore E. Cummings** died on March 30.

AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS

CIA
Deputy Director—**Admiral Bobby R. Inman** will resign soon to enter the private sector.

United States International Trade Commission
Chairman—**Bill Alberger** is resigning this month to join the Washington office of the law firm of Garvey, Schubert, Adams and Barer.

Summer Move?

Send us your new and *old* addresses four weeks ahead!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Sweetheart, Get Me Re-Write. They've Indicted the Donut Dunker."

by Eric Black

America, to paraphrase a report I wrote in the fourth grade about Mexico, is a land of many contrasts. People in all parts of the country may watch the same TV shows and eat the same fast-food hamburgers, but some aspects of regional identities are too deeply rooted for even the combined power of the Ewing family and Big Macs to overcome.

My adopted home state of Minnesota, for example, offers a lifestyle for cross-country skiers, Lutherans, grain-dealers, and indoor baseball fans that's hard to match. But one sub-species for which the so-called good life in Minnesota is not so good is the investigative reporter. To really thrive, this group needs political scandals. Big, smelly scandals, and plenty of them. But Minnesota is suffering from a long-standing scandal shortage that shows no sign of easing.

We try harder. We protect our sources, follow up leads, ask the tough questions. But to no avail. Minnesota journalists are a cursed lot, doomed to inhabit a state in which tax dollars stand a pretty decent chance of being spent for the purpose for which they are intended, elections have a high likelihood of being won by the candidates who get the most votes, and public employees, more often than not, show up at the office on workdays.

We read enviously about chicanery in other states. New Jersey, for example, seems to offer what amounts to an affirmative action program for investigative journalists. Consider the following juicy episodes that occurred during March alone.

At the beginning of the month, New Jersey's senior U.S. senator, the formerly Honorable Harrison Williams, resigned in disgrace scant minutes before his colleagues would have expelled him for his conviction of bribery charges arising from the FBI's Abscam probe.

In the middle of March, William Musto, a 36-year veteran of the New Jersey legislature, was convicted of racketeering, extortion, and wire fraud. The charges stemmed from Musto's habit of accepting kickbacks from contractors who received building contracts from Musto in his capacity as mayor of Union City, New Jersey. The sum kicked back to Musto and his co-defendant was over $700,000.

As March was ending, a grand jury indicted Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson, Newark City Council President Earl Harris, and former Councilman Michael Bontempo on 141 counts of conspiracy, fraud, misconduct in office, and theft by deception. The grand jurors decided that there was probable cause to believe that Bontempo, 81, had been paid $115,000 over the period 1974-1981 for his services as chief of security for the city water supply and that Bontempo had lived in Florida during most of that period.

For investigative reporters, March in Minnesota was a washout. There were absolutely no scandals of any kind. In the next month, however, two events occurred that will give you an idea of the sort of thing that inspires outrage around Minneapolis and St. Paul.

In early April, the Minneapolis *Star and Tribune* revealed that a city park board policy allowing a small number of elected officials and their guests to buy discount season passes for the use of municipal golf courses had been abused. And more than once some of the elected officials had lent their passes to friends, who brought their own guests to play on the courses. The park board voted unanimously to appoint a subcommittee to

Eric Black is a reporter for the Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recommend a way to revise the policy in order to stop this abuse.

In mid-month, the paper broke another scandal wide open. A Minneapolis alderman attending a sports event had been allowed to park his personal car in a no-parking zone. Deputy Police Chief Leonard Brucciani, when confronted with the facts, admitted that he had told the officers working the game not to tag or tow the alderman's car.

The Minnesota investigative reporter has the advantage of writing for a readership with an astonishingly low threshold for indignation. This is part of the secret of the state's antiseptic politics. The merest whiff of impropriety and the press, public, and prosecuters swarm over the miscreant like flies on organic fertilizer. For example, as soon as the golf pass story broke, the *Star and Tribune's* editorial cartoonist weighed in with a cartoon of a greedy, leering elected official and his golf clubs being carried on a throne by four overburdened taxpayers. The deputy police chief who allowed the alderman to park illegally acknowledged the seriousness of his transgression and begged for forgiveness. "I'll guarantee you, it isn't going to happen again."

Another example of high crimes and misdemeanors in the Gopher State: After a hotly contested 1980 race for a state senate seat from Minneapolis, both candidates were indicted by a Hennepin County grand jury for alleged violations of Minnesota's Fair Campaign Practices Act.

The allegations can be summarized roughly as follows:

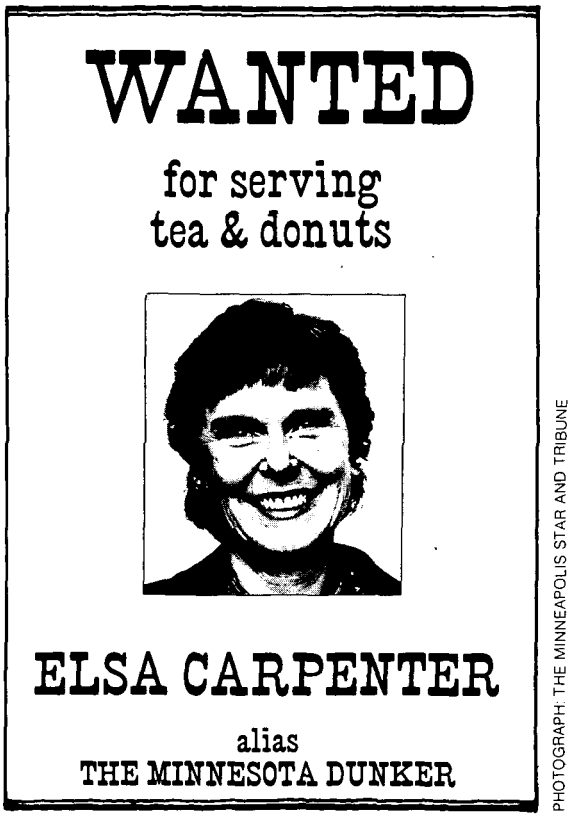
The Republican candidate, Elsa Carpenter, sent out a letter that said: "Don't miss the opportunity to elect Elsa Carpenter the first woman to represent Minneapolis in the State Senate." Actually, in a 1979 special election, a woman had been elected to serve out the unexpired term of her late husband, who had been a state senator from northeast Minneapolis. Therefore, Carpenter's statement that, if elected, she would be the the first woman state senator from Minneapolis, was (gasp) *incorrect*. This "false campaign statement" constituted the first count of her indictment. Making a false campaign statement is a gross misdemeanor, punishable by up to a year in prison and a $1,000 fine.

The second count of the indictment, also an alleged false campaign statement, was based on another Carpenter mailing that stated: "But in order for Elsa to represent us, she needs money immediately. In fact, before the end of August, she needs $2,375 for brochures and lawn signs." The horrid truth was that at the time of the mailing, Carpenter's campaign chest held more than $2,375.

The third count alleged that Carpenter had offered "improper campaign inducements." It is illegal in Minnesota to offer voters anything of value in exchange for political support. But in brazen defiance of the law, Carpenter allowed some of her supporters to give a party, at which things of value such as coffee, tea, and actual ROLLS were profligately distributed to the public in a bald-faced attempt to buy votes. An improper campaign inducements rap is also a gross misdemeanor.

When I tell the story of Elsa Carpenter's indictment to friends from other cities, some of them just laugh and assume I am kidding around. But others, whose cynicism runs deep and who know I never kid around, believe they see an explanation. Partisanship, they say. The grand jurors or the prosecutor must have been fierce backers of the Democratic Farmer Labor Party (the DFL is sort of Minnesota's version of Democrats, only more so). But if that were true, how can they explain the fact that Carpenter's victorious DFL opponent, Eric Petty, was indicted by the same grand jury?

The grand jurors nailed Petty for one false statement and one count of divulging that Car-



PHOTOGRAPH: THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR AND TRIBUNE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

penter was under investigation by the state Ethical Practices Board, a misdemeanor. The background and details of Petty's alleged false statement are awfully convoluted, so I will spare you from them. Suffice it to say that if it wasn't quite as minor a misstatement as the one that resulted in Carpenter's indictment, it was close.

The indictments, which were handed down in October 1981, received front-page play in the Minneapolis *Tribune*. They were dismissed three months later, but not before both politicians had been arraigned, booked and fingerprinted, had their mugshots taken, and spent an afternoon in the Hennepin county jail. Before being incarcerated, Carpenter's belt was confiscated, presumably so she wouldn't hang herself. Petty, who had a cold, was not allowed to keep his handkerchief.

Last August, as Minneapolis fire chief Clarence Nimmerfroh was planning a big lawn party at his home, he realized that the water level was down in the artificial pond he owns jointly with some neighbors. So, after checking with the city water department, Nimmerfroh had some of his men bring a city fire hose to his house. Accounts differ as to whether Nimmerfroh or the men actually hooked the hose up to a nearby hydrant, but without question, the chief did use the hose to fill the pond. He paid for the extra water, about $55 worth.

An outraged neighbor tipped off the press, the story made page one, and the next thing anyone knew Nimmerfroh's shocking abuse of office was the subject of this denunciation by Alderman Mark Kaplan: "He makes city government look crooked and that reflects on everybody in city government."

In late summer of 1977, a scandal rocked the administration of then-Governor Rudy Perpich. A state official accused the governor's office of the sin of "cronyism." That dread word appeared in news story after news story and put Perpich on the defensive.

What was the root of the problem? An official of the governor's manpower office alleged that two people, both of them members of the governor's DFL party, *were hired for state jobs after being recommended by the governor's office* and that the two were hired even though, in this official's opinion, there were more qualified applicants available!

"The system is debased when government starts to become an employment agency for friends and friends of friends," the Minneapolis *Star* editorialized.

The jobs in question paid $16,558 and $14,700 annually. The *Star* editorial noted that the jobs

The Washington Monthly Journalism Award

March 1982
is presented to
Mary Hargrove
The Tulsa Tribune

In a four-part series, Hargrove outlines the bureaucratic miscues and possible outright corruption involved in the haphazard, unnecessarily expensive filling of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. The reserve, a critical national security requirement, has been plagued with problems since its creation seven years ago.

and to

Gary Cohn
The Lexington Herald-Leader

In an extensive analysis of the University of Kentucky's Tobacco and Health Research Institute, Cohn documents how this taxpayer-supported institute has squandered millions on worthless research, much of it biased toward proving that cigarette smoking is less harmful than believed. The author also explains how tobacco interests go about influencing not only the state legislature, but a supposedly scientific research project at a reputable university.

For Hargrove's series, write The Tulsa Tribune, 315 So. Boulder Ave. Tulsa, OK 74102; for Cohn's articles, The Lexington Herald Leader, Main & Midland, Lexington, KY 40507.

The Washington Monthly wishes to recognize the writers and publishers who share our purpose of trying to describe how the political system really works, to determine why it succeeds, and why it fails, and to suggest ways in which it might be improved.

The *Monthly* Journalism Award is presented each month to the best newspaper or magazine article (or series of articles) on our political system. Nominations from any newspaper or magazine in the country are welcome. The subject can be government in its federal, state, or municipal manifestations.

The award for articles published in May and June will be announced in the September issue. Nominations will close July 16. Nominations should be accompanied by two copies of the article or articles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"are unclassified, which means that no civil service tests are required and no specific qualifications must be met to be employed. Those are circumstances that readily lend themselves to political abuse."

Plainly stung by the allegations, Perpich appointed a three-member panel to investigate. Later he decided to have all of the employees at the agency in question take tests to determine whether they were qualified for their jobs.

Chicago, the New Jersey of municipalities, offers an interesting contrast. The city's payroll boasts 16 relatives of Alderman Fred B. Roti. Roti's kin, as of last November, had annual salaries totaling $350,992. When asked by reporters if he could defend this, Roti did not suggest that an independent panel investigate. Instead, he replied: "What's there to defend? They're doing a day's work for a day's pay."

'That's one of the things about Chicago graft,' says a reporter who worked on the 'Mirage' series. 'Low prices, high volume.'

The highest-paid Roti relative on the city payroll was a son-in-law who had been a municipal painter before marrying Roti's daughter. After the wedding the young man suddenly was promoted to the $34,000-a-year job as general manager of maintenance at O'Hare airport.

When asked about the propriety of his son-in-law's rapid ascension through the ranks, Roti did not offer to have his protege take a test to prove he was qualified for the job. He replied: "He's my son-in-law. He's qualified. He's doing a good job."

Another big Minnesota story broke in November 1980. After a lengthy undercover investigation, using hidden cameras and surveillance vehicles, the special WCCO-TV I-Team showed Minneapolis housing inspectors taking long lunch and coffee breaks, padding their mileage claims, doing personal errands on city time, and generally NOT WORKING HARD AT ALL.

The next week, the head of the inspections department was suspended because, according to the city coordinator, he should have known about the abuses. Two weeks later, two of the inspectors spotlighted in the I-Team investigation were fired, and eight others were suspended.

The reaction: "This waste of taxpayer's dollars on persons of this caliber is fantastic and bewildering," said a letter to the editor of the *Star* capturing the general sense of public outrage.

Back to Chicago in January 1978: After three months of operating a tavern called the Mirage with the help of hidden cameras and secret identities, a team of investigative reporters from the Chicago *Sun-Times* published photos and accounts of bribes solicited and accepted by the vast majority of the inspectors sent in to check out the place.

The fire, plumbing, building, electrical, ventilation, and liquor inspectors, plus one city clerk, took bribes ranging from $10 to $150 to overlook fire and health hazards at the Mirage. "That's one of the things about Chicago graft," said Zay Smith, one of the reporters who worked on the story. "Low prices, high volume." Those who didn't solicit bribes simply overlooked blatant code violations because they didn't take the time to do even a cursory inspection.

So widespread was the graft and incompetence that when the tavern operators/journalists found one honest cop who not only wasn't on the take but attempted to perform an honest inspection, it was page one news.

This suggests one reason why the Chicagos and New Jerseys of this world are not always heaven for the investigative reporter: virtue becomes the news because sin is so familiar. Even the slimiest, most festering of scandals get old when they are coming down the pike at a rate of three a month.

In the bloom of my idealistic youth, when I was a reporter in Arkansas, I frequently happened upon what I thought were great conflict-of-interest stories. A state senator who received a full-time salary from the Associated General Contractors, used his position to further all the pro-management, pro-construction bills he could and to defeat most of the pro-labor legislation that came along. The chairman of the House Banking Committee accepted a "consulting" job with a Little Rock bank, and so on.

But when I would breathlessly call my editors to describe the story, they'd reply, "So what?" or "That's been going on for years and everybody already knows it."

That's an answer you would never get in Minnesota. While the scandals may be minor and sometimes exaggerated, at least they're not ignored. That's good for the reporter—and what's more important, it's good for the citizens, too. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Memo of the Month

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON D.C. [illegible]

In Reply Refer to: [illegible]

March 17, 1982

MEMORANDUM TO THE SENIOR STAFF

FROM : M. Peter McPherson

SUBJECT: "Front-Office" Management

Our ever increasing volume, variety and tempo of work makes the management of my time and the information/decision-making process progressively difficult. The most critical factors in assuring the effective utilization of my time and an efficient information/decision-making process are the use of established channels of communications and timely submission of fully cleared documents.

Kay Davies, my Executive Assistant, is the only person authorized to schedule my time. In her absence, Kay's associate, Tish Niffenegger, has such authority. Kay and Tish collaborate in sorting out the complexities of my daily schedule. If neither is made aware of demands on my time, or changes therein scheduled previously, the potential for chaos and conflict exists.

It is especially important to stress that your advising me personally of an event and securing my agreement is no guarantee that the event will be scheduled on my calendar. You need to immediately inform Kay or Tish accordingly!! Of course, it is particularly critical for you to observe this procedure during periods of fast moving events when time is of the essence.

At risk of belaboring the point, it might be instructive for you to know how my time is generally scheduled in response to personal, telephonic and written requests: (1) Requests for time on my calendar are made to Tish Niffenegger, ext 29620. She records all pertinent information on a pre-printed form and works with Kay Davies to determine whether to schedule the events or have them otherwise handled. Close calls are brought to me for decision. Most often, Tish will inform the requesting party of the decision by phone. On occasion, Kay will do so. (2) My Congressional testimony is scheduled by Michelle Laxalt in discussions with Kay and me. (3) Public appearances, speeches, media events, etc., are similarly the subject of periodic scheduling meetings attended by Kay/Tish, Rich Miller, et al.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Class War We Can't Afford To Lose

by Phil Keisling

If Marx and Engels were living in today's America, they would be writing "The Education Manifesto." Millions of our citizens are being oppressed, not by the evils of the capitalist system, but by a public school system that is bad and getting worse.

Walk into a typical urban classroom, and you're likely to find it as homogeneous as Harvard's class of 1928—only instead of being rich, most of the students are poor. There may be a handful whose parents are clinging to the middle rung of the class ladder, and there may be a few whites. If you envision American life as a foot race, these are the children beginning well behind the starting line.

More likely than not, they're getting the kind of education that guarantees they'll never catch up. The dolorous statistics should be well known by now: SAT scores have been declining for over 15 years. Hundreds of thousands of high school graduates are functionally illiterate. Two thirds of our high school

JOSEPH GLICK, EDUCATION WEEK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seniors are so ignorant of our political system they don't know how we select a president. So few take math or science classes that a 1980 report by the National Science Foundation concluded ours is a nation fast approaching "scientific illiteracy." And though 100,000 students tested last year by the National Assessment of Educational Progress showed increases in test scores, the report noted that "hardly any of the students showed evidence of having and using a systematic approach to the analytic tasks." That's education-speak for saying students know how to take standardized tests, but they can't think.

Meanwhile, where are the sons and daughters of what Marx and Engels would call the ruling class, those who not only hold high government posts but are leading lawyers, doctors, businessmen, accountants, journalists, and teachers? For the most part, their children are nowhere in sight in these urban schools. They've either migrated to the suburbs or bailed out of the public school system altogether. In cities like Philadelphia the mayor and most civic leaders now send their children to private schools; of those who remain in that city's school district, over a third are on welfare. In the District of Columbia parents cajole, plead, wheedle, and pull strings, not to get their children into Harvard, Yale, or even a prep school, but into private elementary schools that cost almost $5,000 a year. Twenty years ago there were four elementary schools in the fashionable neighborhood of Georgetown; today there are none. Meanwhile, at the private Georgetown Day School, enrollment has nearly doubled in just the last ten years.

In public the parents of these children may express their concern for the plight of public education. They may celebrate the role of the public school as a key foundation in our democratic society, a place where the barriers of class are broken and children from every walk of life are afforded equal opportunity to develop their natural abilities. But in private—well, it's getting to be a matter of watch what I say, not what I do.

Take the case of the Reverend Jesse Jackson. For the last several years, assisted by about $3 million in federal funds, Jackson has been telling students of predominantly black urban schools that they must take school seriously if they want to "be somebody." But as a parent, Jackson isn't taking any chances with the public schools these children are stuck in. He's sending his son to St. Albans, an exclusive private school in Washington, D.C.

Phil Keisling is an editor of The Washington Monthly.

Jackson's not alone. The list of U.S. congressmen, senators, and sociologists who've enthusiastically endorsed mandatory busing while sending their own children to private schools could start with Senator Edward Kennedy and go on to fill several pages of this magazine. Then there's the National Education Association official interviewed for this story who accused Reagan of trying to "destroy public education" with his proposal to give $500 tuition tax credits to parents of private school students. He, too, sends his son to private school.

Nationwide, private school enrollments in the last decade have remained relatively stable, at around ten percent. But while there's been no mass exodus from the public schools, these statistics mask some disturbing trends. In major cities, twice that percentage of children attend private schools. Enrollment in parochial schools—whose students have traditionally come from the middle class—has dropped in the last decade. Meanwhile, enrollment in unaffiliated private schools—where the sons and daughters of the wealthy usually go—has doubled. The young, upwardly mobile couple is rediscovering the remodeled Victorians of once-declining inner-city neighborhoods. What they're not rediscovering is the neighborhood school.

America's public schools increasingly resemble a sinking luxury liner. First-class ticket-holders have gotten off safely. Those stuck below deck in third class are starting to tread water.

Of course, the sad truth is that children aren't safe in many of our public schools—physically *or* intellectually. Some concerned parents simply have no choice but to turn to private schools. Take the case of Ruby Bridges, who in 1960, as a child of six, braved the taunts and violent epithets of white racists to become the first black to enroll in New Orleans's segregated school system. Now 28, she recently took her three children out of the New Orleans public school system and enrolled them in a parochial school. Talking to a reporter about her young son, she explained, "I don't like to put down public schools, but he wasn't really learning the way he should have."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now stop just a minute and think about that last phrase—"wasn't learning the way he should have." Remember, this isn't some baseball manager explaining to reporters, "I had to take Fingers out in the seventh because his slider wasn't working the way it should have." No, this is a parent, talking about the education of her son. More to the point, the education her son wasn't getting.

If nothing else, Bridges's decision to leave the same school district she'd suffered so much to integrate should drive home the desperate condition of so many of our public schools. As the schools fail, more parents leave, not just those who are wealthy or white, but middle-class parents of all races. Public education in America's cities increasingly resembles the sinking luxury liner of old. First class ticket-holders already have gotten off safely and the second-class passengers are rushing for the remaining lifeboats. Those stuck below deck in third class are starting to tread water.

Double Trouble

The conventional prescription for rescuing our schools is "more"—more money for teachers' salaries; more professional training; more course offerings. In other words, employ the same strategy that has dominated educational thinking in the last 15 years—years in which our public schools have steadily deteriorated.

The real problem isn't the lack of money. It's what is—and isn't—being taught in our classrooms. Most important, it's who's doing the teaching.

Nothing else will improve our public schools as much as putting the nation's brightest, most talented people into the classrooms as teachers. Yet today, such people are everywhere *except* the classroom. In 1979-80, for example, college students planning to become teachers scored an average of 339 on the verbal portion of the SAT—80 points below the already dismal national average. While some teachers in our schools are talented, dedicated people, far too many are like the teacher in Mobile, Alabama, who wrote a parent, "Scott want pass in his assignment at all, he had a poem to learn and he fell to do it"; or like the Washington, D.C. teacher one parent describes who interrupts class each day to watch her favorite soap opera.

Two institutions are working hard to insure that things stay this way—and they count among their traditional allies many who think of themselves as strong supporters of public schools. The first obstacle is a type of school itself—the nation's 1,300 teachers' colleges, whose existence and survival are predicated on the dubious premise that public school teachers must endure a battery of often mind-numbing "professional education courses" before they can receive their credentials. The result is credentialed teachers who often can't teach. Indeed, this misguided insistence on professionalism is a major reason why the nation's best college graduates are either teaching in private schools—usually for longer hours at much less money—or choosing other professions altogether.

The other major obstacle to improving public education lies in the teachers' unions—specifically the National Education Association, which has 1.7 million members, and the American Federation of Teachers, with about 500,000 members. That teachers have formed these unions is perfectly understandable; during most of this century they have been shabbily treated, grossly underpaid, and subject to the often petty, arbitrary actions of school administrators. Yet as unions, these organizations are dedicated to protecting *all* their members, particularly the mediocre and downright incompetent ones. As a result, their allegiance ultimately lies with the bad teacher rather than the students who've been victimized by what amounts to educational malpractice.

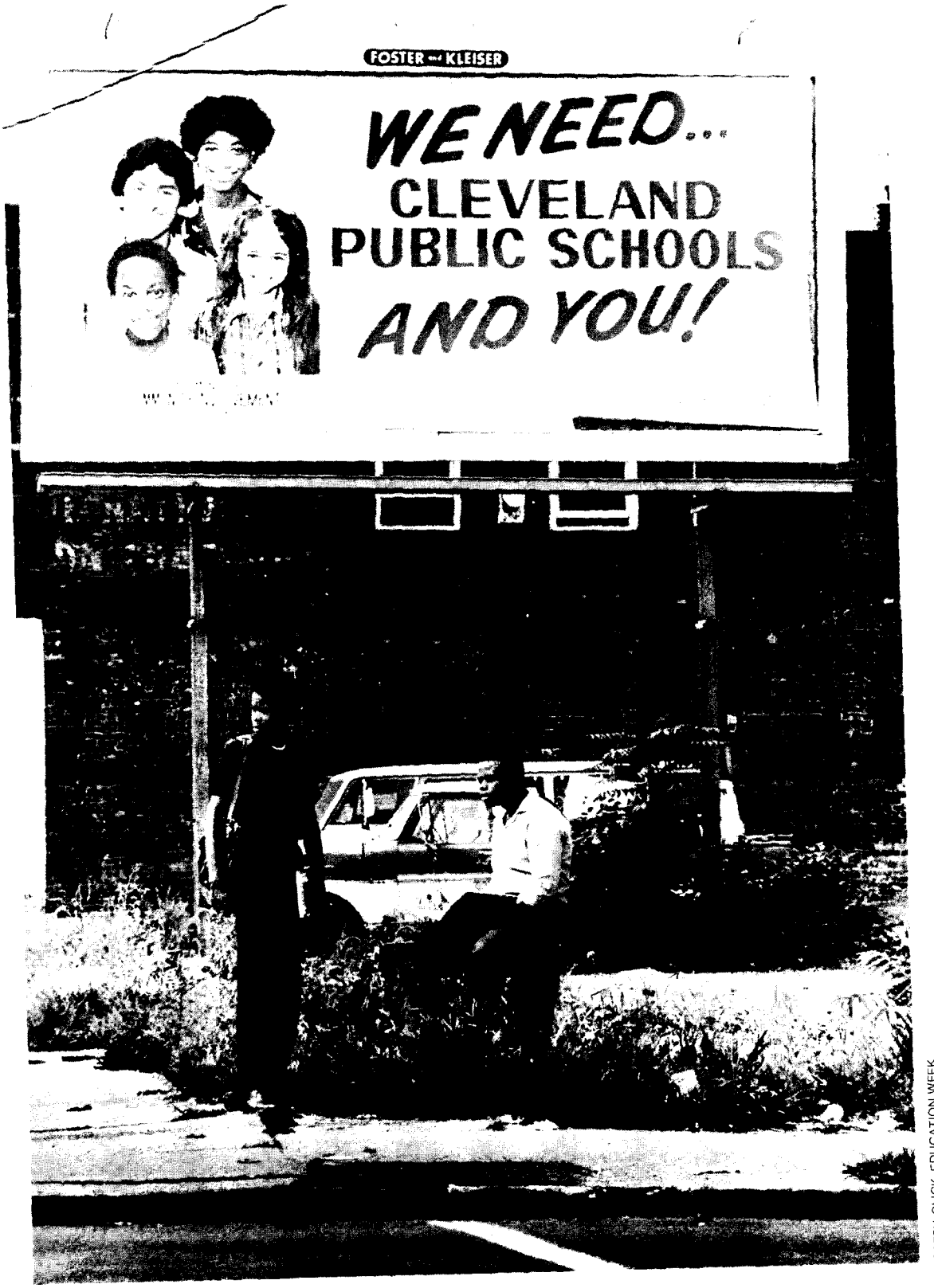
To get some perspective on the nation's 1,300 teachers' colleges, consider these comments by Benjamin Fine of *The New York Times*:

"In some institutions for training teachers, an undue proportion of the students' time is taken up with courses in 'education.' The teacher may know how to teach history but he does not know enough history to teach the subject adequately. . . .

"One college president has said, 'By and large, the country over, teachers' colleges are the weak sisters of the educational profession. The bright students will not enter teachers' colleges. . . ."

Fine happened to write these words in 1947 in a book entitled *Our Children Are Cheated*. Things have changed since then; Fine's comments are even truer today. Though the widespread sexism of Fine's era was deplorable, one happy result was that the nation's brightest and most talented women often went into teaching. They suffered through the many education courses because they had so few other career choices. Those women today are choosing professions in law, business, and medicine; unfortunately, our schools haven't found people of comparable quality to replace them. As the SAT scores show, it's the least-gifted of our students—men and women—who are attracted to teachers' colleges today.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



JOSEPH GLICK, EDUCATION WEEK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Talk to teachers about the education courses they were forced to take and the thoughtful ones invariably will describe the various "mickey mouse" courses that would tax the patience of even the dullest of students. One prospective teacher's assignment was to "cut out magazine pictures that referred to child care." In 1979, Gene Lyons of *The Texas Monthly* visited the campus of Southwest Texas University, where most of the state's teachers are trained. He found students earning credits for such things as "Administering Leisure Delivery Systems" and "Administration and Supervision of Driver Education." Not surprisingly, most students were getting A's. The teachers' education program at the University of California at Berkeley has so little prestige on campus that a special commission recently recommended it be abolished altogether.

After awhile it looks like there's a conspiracy to drive away the best people. J. Myron Atkin, an education professor at Stanford, has concluded, "It is doubtful if as many as two dozen of the 1,300 institutions that prepare teachers are maintaining programs that a bright youngster would find demanding."

Most of the classes taken by prospective teachers have nothing to do with what the teacher will have to teach. A typical program for a secondary school teacher involves just one quarter of his or her classes in the academic major. *Education Week*'s Jim Mullen found that in one typical state 30 percent of the chemistry teachers and 63 percent of the physics teachers had less than 20 semester hours of college credit in their subjects. That's less than a semester and a half out of eight. One can become a history teacher in Maryland with only six semester hours of American history.

To test prospective teachers' knowledge of their subjects, many states recently have instituted minimum competency exams. The results have been disheartening to say the least. In the first year of its test, Louisiana flunked half its graduates. In Alabama, things have worked their way around full circle: the NAACP is suing the state, alleging that its test is discriminatory because a far higher percentage of blacks flunk than whites. Black teachers say they should be held to lower standards because they are the victims of a legacy of segregated schools. If the suit prevails, the sad truth is that such teachers will be further victimizing a new generation of children, most of them of their own race.

Teachers' colleges have opposed such competency tests, for an obvious reason: each failure is direct proof of their ineptitude. But worry not; they've come up with a solution: require prospective teachers to take *even more education courses*. The American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education is now advocating an additional year of study to supplement the normal four-year program.

Will forcing students to pay for an extra year of education courses make teaching a more attractive profession? "That's a problem," admits David Imig, AACTE's executive director. "That brings us back to having to raise teachers' salaries."

Those Who Can't Teach, Do

Indeed. Welcome to one of the great circular arguments of public education. Assume we raised salaries immediately—doubled them overnight, for example. What would change? Very little, except that the incompetent and mediocre teachers already in our schools would get a lot more money. Even if the higher salary levels attracted much better students to teachers' colleges, where would they end up? Probably in another profession, since there wouldn't be any room for them in teaching.

Because of the strength of the teachers' unions, teaching is basically a closed profession. Public school teachers enjoy the same thing most civil service employees do: perpetual job security. Like career civil servants, they can be laid off, but usually on the basis of seniority, not ability. ("Bumping," the process that allows a senior employee who loses his job to take that of a younger employee, also applies to teaching; in some districts experiencing layoffs, English teachers are replacing math teachers.) A teacher with tenure—something most of them get after just three years—can be fired, but only for "just cause." In practice, this means a school district almost has to catch a teacher selling drugs to 15-year-olds or sleeping in class all day. No need for teachers to worry about that last one, though. Union contracts often require administrators to give advance notice before evaluating a teacher's performance in the classroom.

Some protection for teachers certainly is justifiable, particularly because teachers often have been victims of arbitrary firings. Unfortunately, what started out as a necessary protection has become such a complicated and litigious process that most school districts can't even fire blatantly incompetent teachers, not to mention less-than-mediocre ones. In one suburban Virginia school district recently, it took two years and $6,000 in outside legal fees just to put a teacher on probation. To actually fire the teacher may take longer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the few cases where firings do take place, they usually have nothing to do with teaching ability. Last year, for example, fewer than 100 Florida teachers had charges brought against them for incompetence. Meanwhile, more than twice that number lost their jobs, according to the Florida School Boards Association, for acts of "moral turpitude."

If school districts find it difficult to jettison bad teachers, mediocre ones are impossible to get rid of. Even worse, the good teachers can't be rewarded. Both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers vehemently oppose any system of merit pay for teachers. They claim it's not only impossible to determine who's a better teacher, but that merit pay would "demoralize" those who don't get any.

Of the recent books urging Democrats to rethink old issues, Paul Tsongas's* The Road from Here, *Mark Green's* Winning Back America, *and Tom Hayden's* The American Future, *barely mention public education.

If current pay schedules don't reward merit or individual initiative, what do they reward? More credentials. Many districts pay several thousand dollars a year more for a master's degree, an arrangement that teachers' colleges certainly like since it brings in extra tuition revenue. While many teachers take these courses during the summer vacation, in 1976 almost half the respondents in an NEA survey reported taking advanced education courses *during* the school year.

Private schools treat their teachers much differently. Though public school teachers often complain about low pay, salaries for private school teachers average several thousand dollars a year less. Tenure is much rarer. Education degrees are not required and teachers who perform well are rewarded with extra pay. As a result, private schools from the most prestigious preparatory institutions to inner-city parochial schools have little difficulty attracting excellent teachers—many of them from the nation's top colleges—who haven't taken the education courses necessary to teach in a public school. Some of them prefer teaching private school students, but others say they would teach in public school were it not for the education courses they'd be forced to take. "I just couldn't stand humiliating myself that way," observes one private school instructor.

Both the NEA and the AFT obviously downplay the problem of bad teachers. But neither denies it. The numbers—from SAT scores to failure rates on competency exams—speak for themselves. In fact, the unions will often point to the low quality of their own members in arguing for higher salaries. "We're getting what we pay for," observes one NEA official, leafing through a book that compares teachers' salaries (unfavorably) with those of accountants, lawyers, and engineers.

While the experience of the best private schools shows that on the whole you don't have to pay more money to get better teachers, there are a few instances where higher salaries could make a real difference in the education our children are getting. Science and math teachers are rapidly becoming an endangered species, both in our public schools and in our teachers' colleges. Minnesota trained only one physics teacher last year; in New York, out of 15,000 teaching graduates in 1981, only 61 were certified to teach chemistry. A recent nationwide survey of the people hired in the last two years to teach high school math and science found over half were "unqualified." The explanation for these shortages is as simple as the free marketplace. Math graduates, for example, can either start teaching for about $12,000 a year or earn $20,000 from a computer firm.

The obvious solution is to pay math and science teachers what's necessary to attract enough of them to the profession. But the NEA is dead set against this. That would foster "elitism" among teachers, the union says. Its solution, if you haven't guessed yet, is to raise salaries for all teachers.

Meanwhile, our children will no doubt continue to be among the world's most scientifically ignorant. According to a recent survey by Catherine Ailes and Francis Rushing, over half the nation's school districts require no more than one year of math and science for graduation. Consequently, just a third of the nation's high school students take chemistry; only six percent take a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

year of calculus. By contrast, a Japanese high-school student must take four years each of math *and* science. The equivalent student in the Soviet Union will take five years of physics, four years of chemistry, and two years of calculus.

Preoccupation with salaries isn't surprising; all unions measure their success largely by higher wages, better working conditions, and increased job security. But schools are not factories where the work is routine and the main issue is how to divide the company's profits. The teachers' unions have transferred some of the worst aspects of unionism to an enterprise whose major purpose is incompatible with the time clock. Twenty years ago, the teacher who stayed after school to tutor a student needing special help probably was singled out for praise. Today, that same teacher risks being accused of "union busting" for disobeying a contract provision that requires all teachers to leave by a certain time. A retired teacher recalls the most dangerous place around his public school was the faculty parking lot at 3:15.

This mentality has its parallel in the automobile assembly line, where the worker attempting to increase his productivity is chastised by his colleagues for making them look lazy. Tens of thousands of workers are now unemployed because this attitude has helped make U.S. automakers so uncompetitive. Teachers who behave similarly don't deprive students of paychecks so much as their chance to ever earn one.

Malignant Neglect

However selfish their motives, teachers' colleges and unions are unerringly right about one thing. Teaching *is* one of the most important professions in America, worthy not only of respect but of the talents of the nation's brightest, most dedicated citizens. Where are such people today? Likely as not, they're hunched over a convoluted legal brief, checking obscure contractual references, or writing a report for a consulting firm on "bimodal transportation variables." These jobs not only contribute little or nothing to the nation's prosperity, they are stultifying to the spirit and deadening to the intellect. That's not true with teaching; talk to teachers who are good at what they do and they'll assure you they would never trade their jobs for ones that paid a lot more money.

The problem is that while everyone agrees on the need for good teachers, few want to take the steps necessary to bring them into the classroom. Most people hope instead that public education can be saved simply by adding on to what already exists—much like adding expensive options to a car that no longer runs.

Most of these additions—more inservice training and higher teacher salaries, for example—will be of marginal benefit, at best. And some will continue to be destructive. Busing, for instance, has antagonized parents, both black and white, while diverting attention from what's really wrong with the schools. Likewise, the enthusiasm for bilingual education has hurt the very people it's presumed to help by ignoring a basic reality of American life. The schools' primary function is not to keep children's cultural heritages intact but to teach the skills necessary for them to enjoy the full benefits of citizenship to which they're entitled. That means teaching them English as quickly and as thoroughly as possible.

What's worst about proposals for more busing and bilingual education is that they allow people to ignore the more fundamental changes required to bring excellence to the public schools. No single effort will pull public education out of its nosedive as surely as a bold, concerted program to upgrade the quality of the nation's teachers. But accomplishing that will mean the disappearance of hundreds, if not most, of the nation's 1,300 teachers' colleges, and a drastic curtailing of the power of the teachers' unions—if not their outright abolition. (For more on these and other suggestions, see "What Is to Be Done?" page 35.)

These solutions are seldom heard amidst the hand-wringing and displays of public concern that attend most discussions of the "plight of the public schools." Whether it's in casual party conversation or in respected journals of opinion, the glut of horror stories about our public schools is often matched by the paucity of remedies.

Among Democrats, who've traditionally prided themselves on their high-minded concern for education and "equal opportunity," the issue of public education seems to have dropped off the radar screen. Consider the recent spate of books urging Democrats to formulate new ideas as a response to the New Right. Paul Tsongas's *The Road from Here* doesn't list education among the "eight realities" Democrats need to reconsider. Mark Green's *Winning Back America* has nary a word about public schools. Nor does Tom Hayden's manifesto, *The American Future*. About the only recent book to mention the subject is Paul Simon's *The Once and Future Democrats*, which warns of the poor quality of our teachers but treads lightly on the subject of teachers' colleges and unions.

The conspicuous silence is explained in part by the Democrats' complicity in the decline of our public schools. An over-reliance on busing; a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reduction of academic requirements in the name of "free choice"; making teachers "more professional"; the growth of teachers' unions—these are developments most Democrats have either acquiesced in or endorsed. The result has been a decade-and-a-half-long decline in educational quality, purchased at ever-escalating prices. Since 1965, spending for primary and secondary public education has almost doubled, after inflation, to $113 billion.

The silence is also understandable given the fact that improving our public schools requires taking on the same institutions Democrats have long supported and helped make powerful. Consider the case of the National Education Association. Though it failed to reelect Jimmy Carter in 1980 (in part because 40 percent of its own membership defected to Reagan), it remains one of the most potent lobbying forces in the nation's state legislatures, where most of the laws regulating such things as collective bargaining, tenure, and school finance are written. In many states the union's political action committee dispenses more campaign contributions than any other special interest group.

In lobbying for legislation to make itself more powerful, the NEA has been quite shrewd in portraying its members as if they were as downtrodden and oppressed as the factory workers and coal miners of another generation. These efforts to wrap themselves up in proletarian garb have proven remarkably successful among Democrats, for whom the mere mention of the word "union" often is enough to conjure up strains of "Solidarity Forever" and images of defenseless autoworkers being attacked by hired goons. Few stop to think not only that the classroom isn't an assembly line or a coal mine but that the other side in this case happens to be the taxpayers. As for the real victims, they happen to be children.

The Last Best Hope

Were Marx analyzing the situation, he'd no doubt find an insidious conspiracy at work. While proclaiming their support for public education, members of the nation's ruling class, many of them political liberals, act to insure that the children of the masses remain in relative ignorance.

But the disintegration of our public schools

What Is to Be Done?

Let's not kid ourselves. Public education is in mortal danger, and unless its ostensible friends act soon, its slide into oblivion will be irreversible. While there's certainly no shortage of ways to improve our public schools, here are some places to start:

— **Parents Unite!** As a first symbolic act, parents should withdraw from their local parent-teacher association chapters. Much as individual teachers may be sympathetic—and many thoughtful teachers are quite disgruntled with their unions—the teachers as a group are, to put it bluntly, the enemy. They're ultimately more interested in protecting their jobs than making sure your children get a good education.

In taking on the teachers, parents and concerned citizens need to be bold. Rather than boycott the schools they should try to take them over. Parents should visit classrooms and observe teachers. They should apply pressure to school boards and administrators to fire incompetents. They should seek ways to undermine credentialism; for example, urging school districts to hire as teachers able and exciting people who don't happen to have teaching certificates. Citizens will have to fight a lot of little battles, but once the facade begins to crack, it could crumble quickly.

— **Bring Back Requirements.** In the last decade and a half the cry of "academic freedom" has led to a wholesale elimination of secondary school requirements, not just in math and science but in English, history, and other subjects. Much as they may lament illiteracy among high school graduates, colleges have been a major culprit in this development by lowering their own admission standards to attract more students. More is needed than going "back to basics"; rote memorization of multiplication tables and verb conjugations is no substitute for teaching students how to reason with numbers or express themselves in writing. Even so, at least two years of American history and government, four years of English, and at least two years of math, science, and a foreign language should be considered an absolute minimum for any high school graduate, college-bound or not.

— **Bring Back Flunking.** In many school districts a phenomenon known as "social promotion" has made flunked students nearly obsolete. The theory's adherents say it's better to pass a slow-learning student on to the next grade because the "stigma" of failure will do far more psychological damage than any loss in achievement. The policy is a cruel hoax; students who aren't failed in school most certainly will fail in the real world. No small thanks to social promotion, an estimated 13 percent of our high school graduates can't read past a sixth-grade level.

— **Smash Credentialism.** Teachers should be required to have a bachelor's degree in the subject they wish to teach. Beyond that, performance should determine employment. A new teacher should be intensively supervised by a senior teacher the first year; useful methodology courses should be taken during the school year or over summer vacation. (A few teachers' colleges already use this technique; the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hurts far more than the nation's poorest children. Nor is it "charity" or "noblesse oblige" that should motivate us to save our public schools, but self-interest. In restoring the public school lies America's best hope for overcoming the divisive class antagonisms that Marx thought so inevitable—and which our democratic tradition has always sought to destroy. If our public schools fail in this role, all of us will lose.

Perhaps I can best explain this by providing an explanation of my own educational background. I did not attend an inner-city public school, but a suburban one outside of Portland, Oregon. Still, as I went through school, I knew people from many different backgrounds, whose parents included small businessmen, insurance salesmen, single mothers, doctors, bookkeepers. Most of my classmates didn't share my enthusiasm for academics; of my best friends in high school, one is now a civil engineer, one a farmer, one a wildlife ranger, one a salesman, and one a lawyer.

If my parents had had the money and believed a private school would prepare me better academically, I'm sure they still wouldn't have sent me to one. They weren't political liberals—both, in fact, are Republicans—but they believed public schools taught things private schools couldn't. More importantly, even if it meant sacrificing some academic rigor, they thought it worthwhile for me to go to school with people who might become laboratory technicians or housewives—occupations they've held for much of their own lives.

It's this belief that public school has value beyond academics that is eroding today, even among those who consider themselves supporters of public education. As Nicholas Lemann has observed, this is the first generation in American history deeply anxious about downward mobility. In the heart of many a professional lurks the secret terror that a son or daughter might become an auto mechanic, a waitress, or an assembly-line worker. If their children aspire to professional careers, the parents often fear the competition might be too keen. Such fears are reinforced by cases such as that of Richard I. Cohen, the subject of a recent front-page article in *The Washington Post*. Cohen's economics degree from MIT, his

graduates of Cambridge, Massachusetts's Lesley College, for example, are some of the most highly prized teachers in the profession.)

— **Abolish Existing Tenure Laws.** Most teachers now get tenure after only three years. This gives far too many of them jobs for as long as they want them, protecting those who have no business being in the classroom. A better scheme would offer contracts of increasing duration—one, three, and then five years, for example. If a school district elected not to renew a contract upon its expiration, teachers could not appeal the decision.

Abolishing tenure not only would give schools far more flexibility in upgrading their teaching staffs, but would encourage people to enter the profession for short stints. Attracting the best graduates of our top colleges for two- or three-year periods—as the Peace Corps does with its overseas teaching programs—would inject some youthful energy into the profession. Many of these same people, who would make excellent teachers because of their knowledge of their subjects, are now driven away from the profession by the education course requirements. Once in the classroom some may decide to make teaching a career. Such a system would also encourage people in the middle of careers elsewhere to try teaching, thus giving students valuable insights into the workings of the outside world.

— **To Each According to His Ability....** The current method of compensating teachers solely on the basis of seniority and college degrees is senseless, unfair, and one of the cruelist tricks unions play on our children. By rewarding incompetent teachers and making the good ones wonder why they even bother, this system does more to undermine excellence in the public schools than almost anything else. Teachers should be paid according to how well they perform, as measured not only by tests and administrators, but by fellow teachers, parents, and students.

For teachers with badly needed skills in math and science, school districts should pay what's necessary to attract qualified people. Not doing so only insures that most of their students remain ignorant of subjects they can't afford to remain ignorant of, especially in an age of electronics and high technology.

— **Quarantine the Aggressors.** It's naive to suggest that every child in public school can be transformed into an attentive student by even the best of teachers. It takes only a few acts of violence and disruption to poison the whole learning atmosphere; as a result, many of our urban classrooms would drive away even the most dedicated of teachers. The unions have a legitimate grievance here: teachers must be given far more authority to rid themselves of troublesome students so they can focus on teaching those who have shown some willingness to learn.

The model for most of these changes, if you haven't guessed by now, is the institution liberals often denigrate in public but turn to as parents: the private schools. These parents do so in the belief that private schools, usually with less money and lower-paid

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

master's from Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public Administration, and his six years' experience in the government have been unable to land him a job despite 175 applications.

Such stories help convince parents it's not as important for their children to be well-educated (in the broadest sense of the word) as it is for them to get an education that seems impressive. Their children need an edge. Perhaps it's a master's degree. Perhaps it's entry to Yale rather than the University of Oregon. And perhaps it's going to that affluent public school in the suburbs, or the private school across town. As far as many parents are concerned, it's now every child for himself.

I don't have children yet, but when I do I'll want them to have a good education. And I'd be disingenuous to suggest I would automatically choose a public school under any circumstances. In fact, if our urban schools continue their decline, chances are good that as a parent, I'd be forced to look elsewhere.

But I don't want to have to do that. If anything, I'd prefer that my children be exposed to an even wider range of people than I was in my suburban school. With the death of the democratic draft and the decline of the public school, ours is a society that's increasingly stratified, not so much by race as by social and economic class. As each of us grows more unaware of how those who are different from us live and think, our ignorance leads to both an excess of public sentimentality and private fear. The class we don't know is usually imagined to be either better or worse than it really is, simply because we don't *know* what it really is.

True, far too many of our public schools are failing in this much larger purpose. But at its best, the public school remains one of the few institutions in American life that has the capacity to force us out of our familiar orbits of job, family, and social class. In that promise lies the real urgency in making our public schools institutions that parents once more can believe in. For as our neglect allows the schools to fail, ours increasingly becomes a nation of too many citizens ignorant, not only of basic skills, but of each other as well. □

teachers, do a better job of educating their children.

They're right, at least according to a massive report last year by University of Chicago sociologist James Coleman that examined 60,000 high school students in public and private schools. Fellow sociologists have severely criticized Coleman's methodology in reaching this conclusion, and some of the criticisms may be valid. But Coleman's most significant finding is indisputable: both teachers and students in private schools work harder than their public counterparts. Twice as many private school students have more than an hour of homework a night, and almost three times as many are taking a third-year language course. Private schools not only expect more of their students, they get more—and at the behest of teachers who often lack the credentials public schools would require.

So the nation's private schools have many valuable lessons to offer. But there's one more major change that's required to rescue our public schools, and it's by far the most important:

— **Fire incompetent teachers.** Only the wholesale dismissal of incompetent teachers will give our public schools a reasonable chance for survival. Yet most people, especially liberals, reel in horror at this unpleasant prospect. They instead urge "compassion" and "understanding," as if poorly educated, uninspired teachers can be miraculously transformed into models of excellence. But just as the reluctance to rid the classroom of a few disruptive students can ruin the learning process for everyone, the refusal to make the necessary judgments about the abilities of our teachers will doom our public schools to continued deterioration, and ultimate failure.

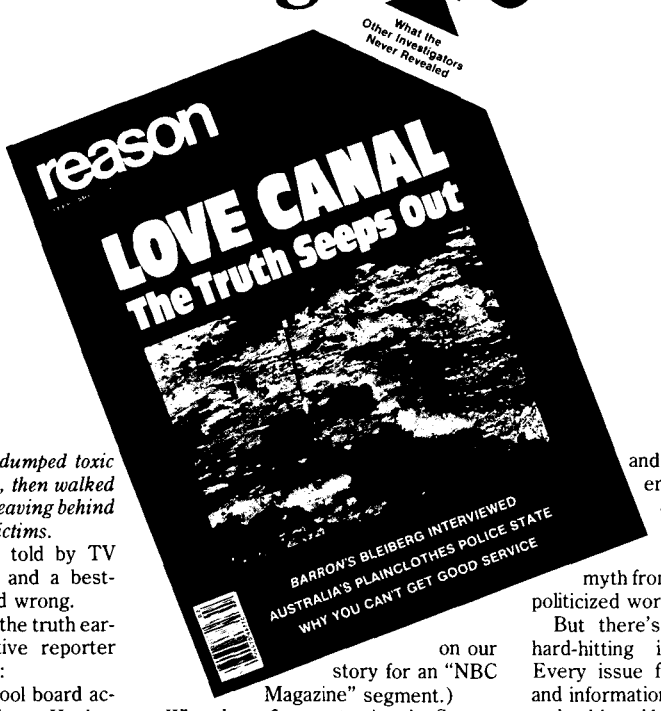
As our public schools fail, the victims won't be just the millions of poorly educated children relegated to lives spent on the welfare rolls and in the unemployment lines. All of us will suffer. A nation of citizens ignorant of basic skills cannot hope to prosper economically in an increasingly competitive world. More importantly, we can ill afford to become a nation in which most of us lack a basic understanding of how our fellow citizens live.

Unpalatable as firings may be, we simply have no other choice. True, clearing our classrooms of bad teachers won't be easy. Many nice, likable people will have to be fired. The power of the teachers' unions to protect and reward incompetents must be broken. But to settle for anything less than the best teachers is to betray one of the fundamental tenets of our democratic society—that every child, regardless of the circumstances of birth, deserves an equal opportunity for a quality education. America certainly has never succeeded in fulfilling the promise of the public schools. But if people continue to abandon the public schools, either by taking their own children out of them or refusing to acknowledge what must be done to save them, we should stop kidding ourselves—and admit it was a promise we never really meant to keep.

—*P.K.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To Get the Right Answer, You Have to Ask the Right Question.



A heartless corporation dumped toxic chemicals in Love Canal, then walked away from the problem, leaving behind a neighborhood full of victims.

At least that's the story told by TV news, magazine articles, and a best-selling book. It's also dead wrong.

Reason readers learned the truth earlier this year. Investigative reporter Eric Zuesse revealed that:

- The Niagara Falls school board acquired Love Canal from Hooker Chemical in 1952 under threat of eminent domain;
- The school board disregarded repeated, explicit warnings not to disturb the canal's clay cover;
- The city punched two sewer lines through the canal walls, in 1957 and 1960, allowing chemicals to seep throughout the neighborhood.

Finding this out didn't take Freedom of Information Act requests. The whole story was available in public documents in Niagara Falls. Yet no other national magazine had bothered to look. They all just took it for granted that a giant corporation *had* to be the guilty party.

At *Reason* we ask questions other journalists don't get around to asking. Questions like the following:

- Why has the FDA refused to permit surgeons to use super-glue adhesive in surgery — even when it can save lives? (NBC was impressed — they picked up on our story for an "NBC Magazine" segment.)
- Why does fire protection in Scottsdale, Arizona cost about half what it costs in nearby communities? Could it be because an innovative private company provides the service?(CBS thought so — they devoted a "60 Minutes" episode to our story.)

Reason's authors refuse to accept the conventional wisdom. They're skeptical of the claims of Big Business, Big Labor, and (most of all) Big Government. At *Reason* we're dedicated to helping thinking people separate fact from fiction, myth from reality, in our complex, politicized world.

But there's more to *Reason* than hard-hitting investigative reporting. Every issue features news, analysis, and information you can use every day — health and longevity news from Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw, money management from Steve Beckner, tax tips from Tim Condon. Plus reviews of books, movies, and television, cartoons, and a free-wheeling letters forum.

Challenge your thinking with a monthly dose of *Reason*. Subscribe today.

reason Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103

Send me the next 12 issues of *Reason* at the special introductory rate of $1 per month (50% off cover rates).

___ Bill me ___ $12 check or money order enclosed*

Name ...

Address ...

City ... State ... Zip ...

Allow up to six weeks for delivery. Offer applies to new subscribers only.

*Canadians please note: US dollar money orders only.

4012

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reagonomics Meets Rodeo Drive: Part VIII

This Bill Insert is Being Sent To All SDG&E Customers By Order of the California Public Utilities Commission

One item of expense included in the rate increase recently granted to SDG&E by the Public Utilities Commission, amounting to $22.5 million, was attributable to President Reagan's Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. That Act requires the Public Utilities Commission to charge ratepayers for the expense of taxes which are not now being paid to the Federal Government and which may never be paid. This expense may increase in the future.

SDGE San Diego Gas & Electric

Tidbits & Outrages

It's Never Lonely At The Top

Elizabeth Hanford Dole, assistant to the president for public liaison, is quoted in a forthcoming book by Diana McLellan ("The Ear") as saying: "The President doesn't want any yes-men and yes-women around him. When he says no, we all say no."

The Back Seat of the Convertible Sagged Under Their Embrace as He Whispered, Lovingly, that the Enemy Could Penetrate Even the Most Super-Hardened of Silos

Dr. Ray Short, a professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, recently reported on his research at a congressional hearing held by Senator Jeremiah Denton on the subject of teenage sex. Short argued that one of the major reasons teenagers engage in sex is that they fear nuclear holocaust, and believe that if they don't experience sex now, they may never have the opportunity.

JURY STILL DEADLOCKED OVER INSANITY PLEA IN POSTMAN BITE CASE

In Petaluma, California one C.W. Meisterfeld placed an ad in the paper advertising himself as an expert witness for trials. Meisterfeld is a "Dog Psycho-analyst-Trainer" who has specialized in dog behavior and neurosis since 1963.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Using Husbands as Business Cards

Political Wives In Compromising Positions

by Donna Fenn

In 1976 Candis Ray decided she had suffered long enough. She was fed up, losing money, and determined to sue. For 16 years Ray had been president of Candis O. Ray and Associates, a Washington firm that provided tours and convention planning for out-of-town groups. Now, after all those years, she was going broke trying to compete with another company in the same business, a company with a number of advantages over hers—unfair advantages, Ray thought. The other tour and convention business was called Washington Whirl-Around, and one of its partners was Ellen Proxmire, wife of Senator William Proxmire.

What made Candis Ray angry enough to sue was her belief that Ellen Proxmire was peddling something more than an ability to give good tours—namely her influence. A dozen or so other congressional wives had signed on with the firm as staff members or speakers, and Whirl-Around was also capitalizing on its access to several prominent Washington journalists. But more important Ray learned that Proxmire's husband frequently authorized the use of congressional meeting rooms for receptions held by Washington Whirl-Around clients, many of whom are trade associations.

Having a reception in a Senate hearing room might not sound like such a big deal, but for many Washington visitors this can be the highlight of their trip. They get to rub elbows with important—or important-looking—people and to gaze at impressive, awe-inspiring surroundings suffused with the aroma of power and history. The organizer who can schedule a reception here instead of the Holiday Inn across town has a leg up on the competition. Such affairs are just what it takes to convince the skeptical out-of-town trade association president that, yes, this whole expensive dog-and-pony show his Washington representative put together may have been worth it after all. The membership got a thrill. Better sign up with Washington Whirl-Around next year, too.

So Candis Ray had some cause for concern, because when she tried for the same atmospherics she ran up against Senate rules, which say a room can be obtained only through a request by a member. That means, theoretically, anyone can write a senator to request a meeting room. But the rules also imply that any direct commercial benefit from such gatherings is forbidden. Thus, when Ray made requests to over a half-dozen senators, including her own, she was turned down.

Washington Whirl-Around also played the House side. Periodically Barbara Boggs, wife of powerful lobbyist Tommy Boggs and a partner in Whirl-Around, would ask the office of her mother-in-law, Rep. Lindy Boggs, to arrange receptions for Whirl-Around clients. The firm also had access to powerful individuals outside the House and the Senate. Clement Conger, art curator at the state department and the White House, was a friend who could be counted on. In

Donna Fenn is on the staff of The Washington Monthly.

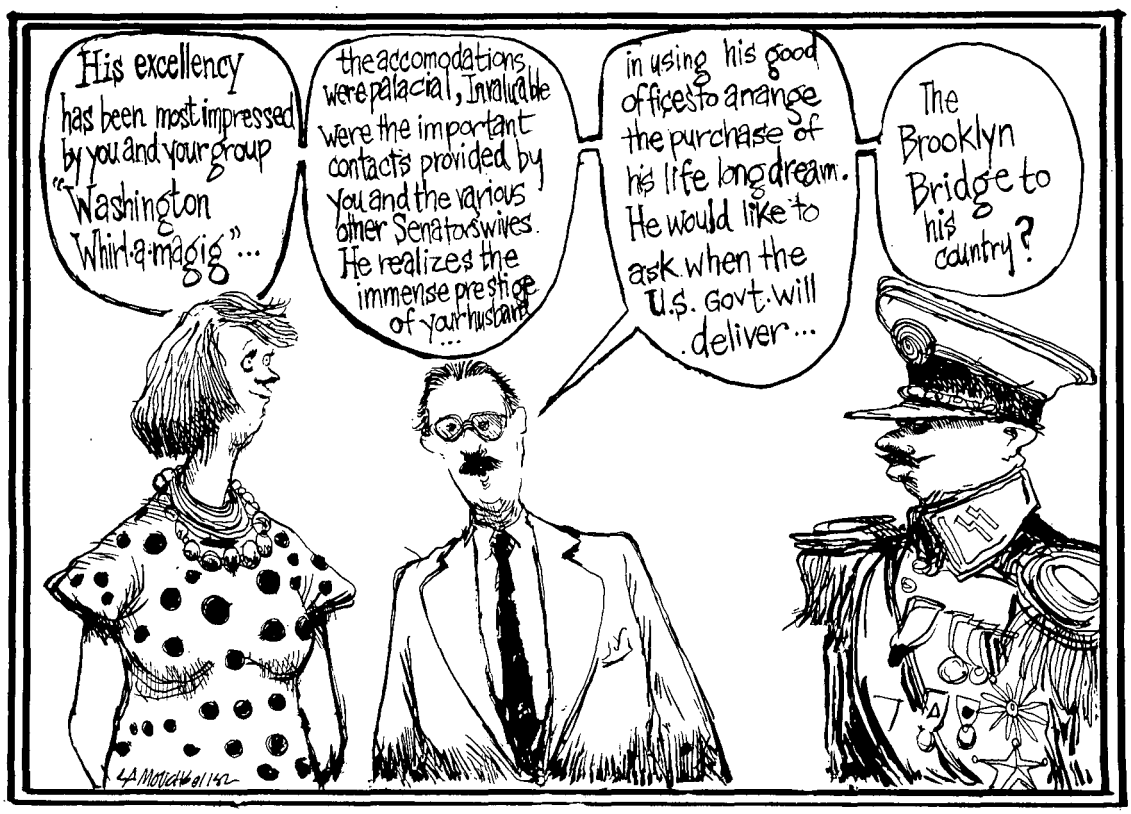
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fact, the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives wrote Candis Ray that Washington Whirl-Around's "success. . . in having Clement E. Conger arrange a private tour for our ladies" was the very reason Candis O. Ray and Associates wouldn't get the farmers' business. Another letter, this one from the co-chairman of the National Limestone Institute's ladies' program to its members, was more explicit: "We have contracted with Washington Whirl-Around, a group of congressional wives, to act as our hostesses on each of the tours, and they have convinced their friends and contacts to give us very special treatment."

As it happens, Patton, Boggs and Blow, Tommy Boggs's law firm, represents the Limestone Institute, as well as several other Washington Whirl-Around clients. And during the Carter administration, Washington Whirl-Around partner Gretchen Poston became Rosalynn Carter's social secretary, a position Ray claims enabled the firm to dazzle some of its clients with perks such as tea in the Rose Garden. (Poston denied this.) Ray also pointed out that Whirl-Around played host to banking and financial groups while Proxmire was chairman of the Senate Banking Committee.

Now as you might have guessed, none of this struck the targets of Ray's lawsuit as smelling even a little bit bad. This was *Proxmire*, remember, a man who by Senate standards is a model of integrity, not to mention a frequent critic of business-as-usual in Washington. Yet there were no regrets, and with the exception of Ray's charge that Proxmire had played favorites with Whirl-Around clients on the Senate floor (the evidence was circumstantial), there were no denials. In fact, the senator admitted that over a five-year period he had reserved 30 congressional meeting rooms for Whirl-Around clients. (He stopped after Ray complained.) Barbara Boggs acknowledged her role, too.

Not that the admissions meant anything when Candis Ray pressed her case. The Senate Rules Committee, the Senate Ethics Committee, and, finally, the U.S. District Court all listened politely, even sympathetically, to her tale, agreeing with the truth of her charges but disputing the premise. The Senate has since clarified the rules to prevent future abuses, but at the time the court denied there had been any injustice. "The simple use of one's status in society is not itself illegal," the court ruled in dismissing the case. "Financial success does not become



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unlawful because it is aided by prominence."

So there it was in black and white. For those political wives in the habit of using their husbands' names for their own benefit, it was quite logical. After all hadn't the men been using their wives for years for *their* benefit? The mind-numbing campaigns. The forced smiles. The loneliness. The superficiality. As far as Ellen Proxmire was concerned, Candis Ray's charges were "a bunch of garbage." Proxmire didn't view herself as a cut-throat businesswoman out to get anybody—she just wanted to *do* something, to be a successful individual, not just the wife of a politician. If striking out on your own often involves being identified yet more closely with the person from whom you are seeking independence, well that's Washington, and Washington, as many put-upon political wives have concluded, must owe them *something*.

The Powerhouse Plugs In

One thing many political families believe Washington owes them is money. Most wives will tell you privately that the $60,662 their husbands earn is woefully inadequate for maintaining two homes, sending the kids to college, and leading the lives expected of them as public figures. And they make the case that the public wants political wives who wear fine clothing and entertain lavishly. Whether or not constituents actually expect this, such reasoning is frequently employed to rationalize the desire to work in occupations that could turn out to conflict with their husbands' roles.

But much of the time the rationalizations are a lot less tortured than that. The connections available to the wives are viewed not only as a source of income, but as entirely natural—the most natural, common elements of their daily lives in Washington.

Take Nancy Thurmond, the savvy, former beauty queen Strom Thurmond married 13 years ago. When Nancy Thurmond wanted some publicity help for a charity ball, she called on her old friend Bob Gray, the former Eisenhower aide who organized the Reagan inaugural and whose one-year-old public relations firm, Gray and Co. (headquartered in a building called "The Power House"), has already racked up $9 million in billings. Of course Gray would handle the charity work. "I always ask if I can do anything to help," Gray says. And what of the fact that one of Gray's clients happened to have an important bill pending before Strom Thurmond's Judiciary Committee? Perish the thought! Nancy Thurmond and Bob Gray are *friends*.

As Lynn Rosellini of *The New York Times* has discovered, Gray, who is on friendly terms with most of the highest ranking members of the Reagan administration (including the president himself), makes an extra effort with the spouses, too. Gray buzzes his secretary: "See if you can get John O'Connor on the phone [Sandra Day]." "I need to reach Carol Laxalt [Paul]." "See if I can talk to Ursula Meese [Edwin]."

The juncture of public relations and political wives provides a sort of x-ray on the purchase and sale of Washington influence. When wives are not involved, Washington networking is a lot more subtle and hard to detect. The friendships, if not more genuine, at least serve the larger purposes more discreetly. After all, Washington is not a tit-for-tat town. Favors are not exchanged with the baldness that the rest of the country tends to believe. For instance, goodby parties are always well attended by lobbyists. Not because there are favors to win or deals to cut—in fact the person leaving town can't do a thing for you—but because the parties create that vague feeling of good will out of which the rest of the business can grow.

The absence of the typical Washington subtlety is what makes the case of political wives so useful to study. The networking is traceable. It isn't that your firm hired the son of the senator's former law partner, whose father was grateful and mentioned something to the administrative assistant, therefore allowing you access. It's a lot easier than that. All the influence peddler needs to be sure of is pillow talk between husband and wife. When Bob Gray needed to hire someone bright this spring to help write commencement speeches, he didn't have to think very hard. He hired Nancy Thurmond.

For Pete's Sake

Because they are highly able—and want to be thought of that way—many of these Washington women have trouble admitting the allure of such connections. Joan Braden, the famous Washington hostess who can count Kissingers, Kennedys, Rockefellers, and lots of other important people as close friends, also was recently hired by Gray and Co. "I told Bob that the one thing I wanted to be careful about was. . . not to be hired on the basis of whom I knew or whom I could bring into the company because of my social contacts," she told *The Washington Post*, presumably with a straight face.

If there's one business that relies most heavily on connections, it's real estate. And predictably, if there's any one profession that most often attracts congressional wives, this is it. At least a dozen

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wives sell real estate in the Washington metropolitan area. They include Carolyn Moore (Henson), Sue Huckaby (Jerry), Dorothy Martin (James), Ann Simpson (Alan), Patricia Derwinski (Ed), Lou Bevill (Tom), and Dolores Beilenson (Anthony). Most find that real estate is flexible enough so they still can campaign with their husbands and take care of the kids. And Congress is a club in which people are moving around a lot and need new houses. Other real estate agents lament that it's tough to compete.

Of all the congressional wives involved in real estate, Antoinette Hatfield is without a doubt the most successful. She's been an agent for several years and now has her own brokerage firm. Her financial success is part of the reason the Hatfields can afford, on a senator's salary, a $500,000 home in Georgetown, two apartments elsewhere in the District, and another home in Portland, Oregon.

Like many Senate families, the Hatfields have frequently used their luxurious surroundings to entertain, and because Mark Hatfield has a reputation for being sympathetic to Arab and Palestinian causes, they are plugged into the Kuwait/Saudi party circuit. (Hatfield, who tends to oppose large-scale foreign military assistance, has sided against Israel on several foreign assistance votes.) This was the basis of a bit of controversy in 1977, when Antoinette Hatfield did some business with the Saudis.

The Saudis were looking for an embassy and had their eye on a $5 million marble building right next to the state department. As their agent, Antoinette Hatfield's commission would have been about $100,000. The deal was called off when it became public knowledge, but Mrs. Hatfield still was able to act on behalf of the Saudis by selling them another building at $1 million. Her commission was $30,000. Mrs. Hatfield denied any impropriety, telling Portland's *Willamette Week,* "If anyone ever approached me with the intention of getting to Mark, I would tell them to 'go to hell.' "

That's not the point, of course. Can you imagine the Saudis taking Antoinette Hatfield aside and explaining that they were enlisting her services as a real estate agent in order to show her husband their gratitude? What she overlooked is that her desire to be a good businesswoman, no matter how well motivated, had the potential to undermine her husband's position and credibility. Because Mark Hatfield is sincerely sympathetic to the Arab world and the Palestinians in ways that most senators aren't, he was left quite vulnerable when his wife made money working with the Saudis. Antoinette was right—the Saudis weren't trying to buy a vote. They were helping a friend while at the same time building a network of support.

Perhaps the best example of how a wife's well-meaning but misguided ambitions can undermine a husband's career is that of Jeanette Williams. As it turns out, Jeanette Williams had a significant, if unintentional, hand in husband Harrison's downfall. Back in 1974 Harrison ("Pete") Williams had a friend, Charlie Stein, who owned an amusement and wildlife park in New Jersey called Great Adventure. Stein was interested in getting a waiver from the interior department that would allow him to bring an endangered species of tiger to the park. Williams, who ironically had been a sponsor of the endangered species law, succeeded in getting the waiver for Stein. Two years later, Stein hired Jeanette Williams as a director of Great Adventure with a salary of $16,500 (this was in addition to the $28,620 she was paid for working on her husband's labor committee on the Hill). Things got sticky when a 1978 rule was passed forbidding Senate employees to hold positions with public corporations, but Stein solved the problem by making Jeanette a "consultant"—at the same salary.

And that wasn't the only time Harrison Williams found himself compromised when it came to his wife's business interests. Biocel, a new firm in which Jeanette Williams owned a 13-percent share, planned to set up garbage recycling plants and, in 1975, went to the Lehigh Valley Railroad to find out how much it would cost to transport the garbage. They were quoted approximately $100 a car. A few days later the rate setter received a call from Senator Williams, who said he would appreciate it if the railroad could give this particular company a break on the rate. The deal never went through, but the folks at Lehigh Valley were left wondering exactly who Harrison Williams was representing.

Then, of course, there was Abscam itself, where Biocel came into the picture again. Harrison Williams tried to get the "Arabs" to finance a titanium mine that was owned by Sandy Williams (not related to the senator), founder of Biocel. The senator asked that he receive a million-dollar loan and 17-percent interest in the mine for himself. In exchange, he allegedly said he would use his influence to get government defense contracts for the mine.

It's difficult to tell to what extent Jeanette's own ambitions led to the senator's downfall. People who know them claim he worshipped her—that she was an omnipresent force in both his political and private life and that he was blind to her faults.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Was it the nature of their relationship that led Williams to convince himself that he was doing nothing wrong? Or was it something in the very nature of political marriages in Washington, in the trap that can develop when personal goals—for fulfillment, independence, or money—run up against public standards?

The most famous example of the trap involves Marion Javits. In 1979 it was discovered that Javits was doing public relations work for Iran Air at the same time her husband was the ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The PR contract with Iran Air actually turned out to be a cover. It soon was disclosed that Javits was doing PR work for the Shah himself and that Iran had hired her because she was Jacob Javits's wife. Iran's prime minister, Amir Abbas, had written a memorandum to the Shah saying that "the existence of an Iran lobby in the American Congress seems useful," and "at the same time, employing the services of a company in which Mrs. Javits has a share, taking into consideration the great influence and possibilities that Senator Javits and his wife have in New York City or Mr. Javits alone has in the American Senate, may be a remarkable political opportunity." Marion Javits claims to have been ignorant of such self-serving motives on the part of the government of Iran, although it stretches credulity to believe that such a savvy woman could have been that careless and naive.

The Marion Javits case got a lot of press, but according to several political wives with whom I spoke, it really didn't stir much reaction among the wives beyond a little tsk-tsking. She should have been more careful, they thought. At first this astonished me. The compromising position in which she put her husband was so clear. But as I thought about Marion Javits and about political wives in general, the mildness of the reaction became more understandable. It was public knowledge that the Javitses never got along well; he admitted as much in his memoirs ("Marion has missed the romance, the attention, and the continuity of emotional attachment that she expected to find over time with me," he writes). So was it any big surprise that she didn't worry too much about the prospect of her husband's embarrassment, and that other wives could sympathize and feel a little less sensitive to the requirements of propriety that accompany their own husbands' jobs?

Or perhaps it was just that the use of influence is so common in Washington as to be taken entirely for granted. Such logic suggests that the only reasons the Marion Javits affair caused any stir were that Iran and the Shah's American lobbying were so much in the headlines then and that the influence-buying was so bald-faced. Otherwise the principle at issue—namely, influence—wasn't really much different from that involving, say, Antoinette Hatfield. What's more, in Marion Javits's case there were no personal victims, no Candis Rays.

A Map Through a Trap

It is impossible to ignore, of course, how hard it is to be married to a politician, and many of these women deserve enormous credit for the way they have borne up over the years. Ellen Proxmire admits that during the early years of her husband's career she used to "sit home Saturday night and cry," but she has rarely spoken about how she felt when her husband left for a convention in 1958 shortly after their day-old son died. She stayed in the hospital for two days and then went back on the campaign trail. And she did not appear bitter when that same year, right after Proxmire won the election, she had a miscarriage on the way home from a football game that, despite her exhaustion, Proxmire insisted she attend. During his prolonged absences, she cared for five children, rarely went out alone, and continued to fulfill her responsibilities as a political wife. She describes the days of working in his office without pay or status as "miserable."

So it was natural and commendable that after years of service as a dutiful political wife, Ellen Proxmire wanted to strike out on her own. First, she and her partners created "Wonderful Weddings," a firm that did everything but walk down the aisle with the bride-to-be. Then, with the enormous growth of Washington trade associations during the early 1970s, came Washington Whirl-Around, which last year grossed $2 million.

Women like Ellen Proxmire *have* accomplished something—and they've done so without the kind of paper credentials usually required in Washington. But when a politician's influence takes the place of these credentials, a wife runs the risk of undermining not only his credibility, but her own.

There are many political wives who have succeeded in careers outside the realm of their husbands' influence. These women have learned to avoid the influence game by recognizing the traps and irreconcilable conflicts that Washington can inflict upon political marriages. When politicians' spouses are blind to these traps and conflicts, they cast a shadow not only over the political process, but over the desire for the independence they sought in the first place.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Literati, Go Home

by Philip Weiss

The $8.95 he had just paid for a chicken wasn't the only thing disturbing Stirling Dickinson the day I met him in San Miguel de Allende, a moderately sized town about four hours north of Mexico City. There was also the burgeoning shantytown at the edge of the city, surrounding the beautiful 17th-century church of San Antonio—"an architectural gem," in Dickinson's words. A warren of crooked alleys and shacks without plumbing had erupted, inhabited by squatters who'd moved to San Miguel from the surrounding countryside. The Mexican oil boom and the promise of quick money had brought these people here—and with them had come pollution, traffic, and rising prices. Modern Mexico had finally arrived in San Miguel: rude, vigorous, and, to Dickinson, potentially fatal. It was happening so quickly, so senselessly. "Mexico is risking a revolution," he said, quoting Octavio Paz. But this wasn't the only thing Dickinson was nervous about. There was something else, a fear he didn't need to express out loud.

It was the realization that, at long last, the party might be over.

Stirling Dickinson had almost singlehandedly discovered San Miguel 45 years ago—discovered it, that is, for the 1,500 American and Canadian

Philip Weiss is a freelance writer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

expatriates who live in their own colony alongside 40,000 Mexicans. The town sits in a high valley of the Sierra Madres, surrounded by soft, old mountains, yellow basins, cactus, and hot springs. An elevation of 6,300 feet blesses San Miguel with dry summer days, cool desert nights, and a clear high southern light that some artists swear is identical to that of the Mediterranean. Stand in the tree-lined central square—the *jardin*—at sunset, and you'll often find the twisting stone streets and the high, stucco walls of colonial dwellings more than 300 years old charged with a thick, golden-pink glow. It's not hard to understand why Dickinson never left.

The expatriates who have followed Dickinson to San Miguel are a mixture of artists, writers, and pensioners. Avant-garde sculptors live alongside former infantrymen, all of them fugitives of one sort or another. A few of the colonists have arrived here with some notoriety. Neal Cassidy, the beat hero of Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*, died here while walking out of town counting the railroad ties. He was a victim, older residents say matter-of-factly, of doing too much speed for his own good. Here, too, Clifford Irving, the showman who faked the book on Howard Hughes, washed up with his wife Valdy. He is best remembered not just for bilking the local country club, but for delivering a lecture at the local art school on ethics in writing.

Despite the colonists' complaints about rising prices, it's still cheap to live in San Miguel. In this town without a traffic light you can hire a maid for six days a week for only $30. "You can have servants (and live well) on $1,000 a month and avoid drudgery," explained Evan Bennett, a friend of Dickinson. A former mining engineer, author, amateur anthropologist, and pillar of the expatriate community, Bennett still sparkles at 89. "More time to drink, more time to paint, more time to write," he told me. "More time to sit around the *jardin* and argue. Gossip. Who's sleeping with whom and who's drinking too much and has to be shipped back to the states."

That pretty much covers it. In a week's visit to San Miguel I met only one artist who worked feverishly, seemingly oblivious to his surroundings. If there were others who toiled—and perhaps there were—I missed them. Most everyone I met seemed to be thoroughly enjoying themselves. The colonists' leisurely days revolve around such events as mid-morning tennis games and afternoon forays to the post office. It is no small irony that the colonists closely resemble that most obvious of crude stereotypes: the lazy Mexican.

It's no less ironic that the Mexican part of San Miguel resembles a certain American stereotype—the western boom town. Under the banner of its continuing "Revolucion," the Mexican government is using revenue from its oil fields to aggressively promote industrialization. Though there are no oil fields near the town, the forces of capitalism unleashed in Mexico have not passed San Miguel by. One of the nation's fastest-growing cities is nearby Queretaro, just 25 miles from San Miguel and the terminus of a high-speed rail line that will soon cut the usual four-hour drive from Mexico City in half. Banomex, one of the country's largest banks, has moved its headquarters from Mexico City to Queretaro, which is perhaps one reason San Miguel now has seven banks clustered around its town square—about five more than a town its size ordinarily could boast.

As a result of this growth, San Miguel has become a fashionable bedroom community for Mexicans. Real estate prices have soared, along with those for staples such as chickens and tortillas. Old wrecks of homes without roofs now sell for as much as $50,000 if they are near the *jardin*. A two-pound bag of onions recently fetched $3. For the expatriates, many of whom are retired on a fixed income, the inflation is terribly unsettling.

But the colonists' anxiety goes far deeper than the high prices. What's happening in San Miguel is that the expatriates are finding themselves living in a society whose notion of progress increasingly resembles the one they've rejected by moving here. The expatriates prefer that San Miguel remain what it's been: a sleepy, pretty village where Mexicans walk their burros down pitched streets and colonists own most of the fine houses on the square. Put more crudely, a place where most of the natives are born poor and stay that way, grateful to Americans who frequent their restaurants or hire them for odd jobs.

The attitude itself isn't as noteworthy as how universally it's held. The retired businessmen who congregate at the bar of the local American Legion post and the bohemian artists and writers who frequent the town's galleries at first seem to have so little in common. Members of the former group are generally conservative people who believe in the superiority of the American way of life. They've come to San Miguel seeking little more than a warm climate and an affordable place to live. Members of the latter group are politically liberal and embarrassed, if not ashamed, about the way their country has historically treated disadvantaged people at home and abroad. Accordingly, they consider themselves far more sympathetic than the other colonists to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mexicans' aspirations for a better life. Yet, despite such sincere intentions, all the expatriates share the same goal: keeping San Miguel exactly the way it is.

What the colonists are afraid of losing is the best of both worlds. Theirs has been the security, financial and psychic, of living in a place where the natives use wooden plows but where they didn't have to use those plows themselves. The colonists have patronized these people, but now those they've presumed to help have a vastly different program for their own betterment—one ultimately irreconcilable with the colonists' vision of San Miguel. And in their desire to preserve the town as it is, the colonists are being quite disingenuous—Americans trying to convince Mexicans that Mexicans really don't want the things most Americans already have.

Whether they're liberal or conservative, the colonists want San Miguel to remain the same—a place where most natives are born poor and stay that way.

'Where's Jose?'

It is this attitude that makes the transformation of San Miguel de Allende so interesting. For what's occurring here is hardly peculiar to these colonists or this Mexican town. In an abstract sense, most of us favor "progress" in the developing world. Our politicians, particularly liberal ones, endorse the idea; our banks lend money in its name. Yet when we visit places like San Miguel, it is most likely as tourists, looking for that unspoiled town square or that elegant, century-old hotel where a room costs $20 a night. And when we run across things that are common back home—a McDonald's or high prices—we often resent it. The same backwardness we publicly deplore is both what we expect and part of what we want.

The San Miguel that both the colonists and American tourists find so charming is the San Miguel most Mexicans would just as soon escape, and for good reason. Only a few people enjoy the bulk of the benefits the outsiders bring—the storekeepers, the restaurant owners, those who run hotels. For most residents of San Miguel and the surrounding countryside, life remains difficult if not desperate. So the Mexicans are not about to keep their oil in the ground. They're eager to exploit it and build the refineries and factories that will give their impoverished citizens better-paying jobs, jobs that will make them less dependent on outsiders.

Thus, while the bulldozers, the oil money, and the new banks are giving San Miguel a squalid shantytown, they're also bringing prosperity to many of its residents. Some can now buy automobiles, televisions, and better houses. Some no longer have to work for $30 a week as maids. Dickinson is puzzled these days by the high turnover of caddies at the golf course he helped establish years ago. "Where's Jose?" he asked recently, only to be told that yet another restless youth had moved on in search of better work. For the colonists, it's all very disorienting. They not only sense that the Mexicans may no longer need them—they may not even want them.

Taxing Patience

If the transformation occurring in San Miguel were purely a matter of lost aesthetics and higher prices, the expatriates' next move would be simple. They would grumble and complain, and then pack up and move to another undiscovered village. But there are other changes occurring, ones that are more fundamental than those involving just San Miguel and its economic future. The colonists' relationship with the Mexicans is changing, and not just in San Miguel, but throughout the country.

Among liberals and conservatives alike, there always has been a feeling of security in the presence of Mexicans. D. H. Lawrence and other writers might grow mystical over the Mexican's black, centerless eyes; the intelligent colonist might admire the Mexican's avowedly spiritual orientation. But the admiration went only so far, and the foreigners were seldom confused over who was ultimately superior. Most Americans here, from the avant-garde artist to the retired stockbroker, still feel the warm superiority that comes from living in a simple world but believing that they themselves are anything but simple.

Accordingly, many Americans have enjoyed living off the Mexicans. A lawyer explained this to me one afternoon in the stone courtyard of the American Legion post, as he and other veterans

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sipped their drinks under a tumbling red bougainvillaea. A rotund man with white hair combed back over his head, the lawyer gave his explanation of why the colonists had come to San Miguel—and why they cared so much about staying.

"None of them will say it. Most of them don't even know it. But they want to feel superior, to feel better than the people around them. Look at me. I barely passed the bar exam. I am the dumbest lawyer in the world. But here I'm better than anyone; these local [Mexican] lawyers call *me* and ask *me* questions."

People like Dickinson would be appalled at such sentiments. Still, the attitude is reflected in more subtle ways throughout the colony. There are the stories people laugh at—like that of the American who urinated late one night on the statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe in the town square, unaware that it was sacred. It was an act comparable to a Mexican burning an American flag in downtown Kansas City, something the colonists, were they back home, might not find so amusing. It's also telling that few colonists—Dickinson is an exception—have bothered to learn Spanish.

Now, after so many years of happily disparaging the Mexicans, there's a feeling the attitude is being reciprocated. Napoleon Negrete Quintana, a Mexican lawyer who works closely with many Americans, admits, "We do feel inferior. So when the American comes here it's our chance to either equalize the relationship or make ourselves feel superior." It's probably no illusion on the colonists' part that some Mexicans do fix them with dirty looks or make them wait in stores.

It's also true, with so little Spanish spoken and understood by the Americans, that small slights can quickly foster full-fledged paranoia. The taxi cab story is an instructive one. A common gripe among Americans is that Mexican cab drivers don't like to pick them up. Not surprisingly, many have taken this as further proof Mexicans despise gringos. To test the theory the wife of the Episcopal priest in San Miguel took five cab rides and put the question—in Spanish—to each driver. Each one told her the real reason they didn't like to pick up Americans: they slammed the doors too hard when they got out, and their taxi cabs were slowly falling apart.

Hair Today, Gone Tomorrow

The feelings of persecution, real and imagined, have led to widespread self-pity among the colonists. Many complain the Mexicans do not appreciate their many contributions to the community, which include a scholarship program for Mexican students and a fine library with branches reaching to some of the outlying ranches around San Miguel. The American Legion also has built a school and given mattresses and toilets to the jail. Most of all, the colonists are urging Mexicans to recognize the importance tourism plays in their economy. The colonists say that in the rush to develop its oil, Mexico risks driving away its traditional source of hard currency. A 75-year-old expatriate from Columbus, Ohio, who has lived in San Miguel for 13 years, warns bluntly that the unfettered growth in the area and the lack of concern for the colonists' interests may end up "killing the goose that laid the golden egg."

Perhaps he's right. Greed and ignorance certainly are evident in Mexico's enthusiasm for development. Much of what's happening to San Miguel is ugly and depressing—and, one suspects, unnecessary. Yet in pointing these things out, the colonists' motives are far from pure. All of them ultimately want to preserve San Miguel, not because it's in the best interest of the Mexicans, but because it's in theirs. And whether you call it cultural imperialism or just plain selfishness, it's an attitude that accounts for why foreigners are so often suspicious of our intentions. If Americans proclaim their support for "progress" and "de-

WESTWARD IN EDEN

The Public Lands and the Conservation Movement

By William K. Wyant

The demand for raw materials and energy weighed against the impact of these demands on the environment is a common debate. Nowhere is it so apparent as in the current controversies involving James Watt, the "Sagebrush Rebellion," and the future of this country's public lands. By tracing the history of American land settlement through the 1970s, Wyant provides a setting in which today's land and environmental issues can be assessed.

$24.50, illustrated At bookstores

University of California Press

Berkeley Los Angeles New York London

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

velopment," why, they wonder, do so many of them seem to begrudge them these same things?

One suspects the colonists of San Miguel somehow recognize that their vision of the town's future is incompatible with that of the Mexicans'. This is not acknowledged, but it shows, I think, in a story many of them tell. It's not the story itself so much as the way it's told, a little too frequently and much too self-consciously. It goes like this:

In the late 1960s and early 1970s San Miguel was popular among American hippies. They colonized the *jardin*, spending their days reading, writing, and hugging one another beneath the trees. They did not wash themselves or their clothes. They did not work. The then-mayor of the town, Senor Antoni Gil Vega, a petty dictator much admired, claims that even sex acts went on in the square late at night.

One night in early August of 1968, Gil took action. About 30 of the hippies were rounded up and put in jail. Hairclippers were distributed to the rest of the inmates and the next morning, 30 bareheaded and shaven hippies emerged into the clear light of the square. Most of them quickly blew town.

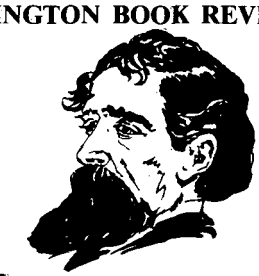
It feels good to the colonists to tell this story about the hippies, even 14 years later. For they are not like the hippies, they tell themselves. They are clean. They do not grow their hair or fornicate in the public square. They are certainly more secure in San Miguel.

But the laughter the story elicits is too forced; deep down the colonists seem to sense the hippies are more like them than they dare admit. Like the hippies, although this is a bit of a dirty secret, they do little or no work. They are nervous about what San Miguel might do if they wore out their welcome. They, too, are escaping an established culture, for whether it's a young hippie or a retired infantryman taking the sun in the square, both are basically conservative. If they could, both would return San Miguel de Allende to those halcyon days when there were only 35 cars in town and oil was something only Americans knew about.

It's a presumptuous attitude the Mexicans quite understandably resent. Even so, I finally find it impossible to get angry at most of the colonists. As with the story about the hippies, most Americans are more like the colonists than we'd care to admit. All of us have secret cravings for places like San Miguel de Allende, places where the world stands still, that are free of luxury hotels, traffic jams, and hordes of other Americans paying American prices. Islands out of the mainstream and unto themselves. Islands whose inhabitants don't aspire to have the same things we've left behind, if only temporarily. □

Charles Dickens wrote, "There are books of which the backs and covers are by far the best parts."

We know that you don't want to waste time and money on books that have nothing to offer between the covers. So we have designed a new publication to help you make informed decisions about what books are worth your time. **THE WASHINGTON BOOK REVIEW** brings you a wide range of timely reviews, commentary, and essays by some of the finest critics in the country, as well as interviews with such writers as **Maya Angelou, Margaret Atwood, Rita Mae Browne, James M. Cain, Gail Godwin, Nadine Gordimer, Marge Piercy** and **Ishmael Reed.** All this and much more are in **THE WASHINGTON BOOK REVIEW,** Washington's only independent literary review magazine.



☐ Enclosed is $6.50 for six issues (one year).

Name _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Address _____

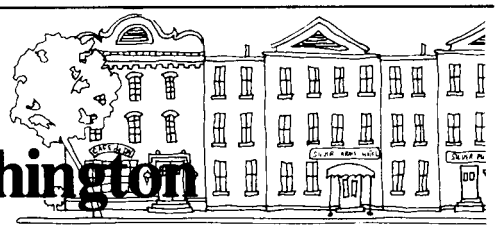
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

The Washington Book Review

P.O. Box 1998, Washington, D.C. 20013
Phone: 202-667-5610

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Where to Stay in Washington



Dupont Circle

This is one of the most desirable areas in Washington in terms of convenience as well as atmosphere. Just a few blocks from the K Street business district, its focal point is the Dupont Circle park, complete with fountain and chess tables and lots of grass for lunching, sunning, or guitar-playing. On the streets leading into the circle are numerous restaurants and shops, and the Dupont Circle subway stop gives you easy access to Capitol Hill, the memorials and museums, and most of the government departments and agencies.

Dupont Plaza, 1731 New Hampshire Ave. N.W., (202) 483-6000. This is a no-frills, basic businessman's hotel, not out to attract the high-expense-account set. But for the moderate per diem traveler, it's quite adequate: wet bars in every room, telephones in the bath, and a guest service that can provide some things you may have forgotten, from a calculator to a translator. And there are eight meeting rooms to accommodate groups of up to 400. Singles, $60-90; doubles, $80-110; one-bedroom suites, $175-225; two bedroom suites, $275-330. Children under 16 are free; a third adult in a room is $25.00 On weekends all rooms are $19.95 per person, double occupancy, and for $89 per person a couple can get two nights, two breakfasts and dinners, and two Greyline tours as well. Parking is $7 a day. The hotel restaurant, **Stephanie's,** serves Viennese-style cuisine, reasonable at lunch, but a bit high for dinner.

The Embassy Row, 2015 Massachusetts Ave. N.W. (202) 265-1600, (800) 323-7500. The Embassy Row has yet to make it, having suffered from numerous changes of ownership, strikes (the hotel workers' union is currently picketing the hotel, which has resorted to non-union service people), and an off-again-on-again restaurant. The decor probably hasn't helped either—a mish-mash of modern, empire, and trendy. With yet another owner, hope may be on the way. The renovation plans look promising, and by fall we should know. For now, the rates are high for what you get: Singles, $95-115; doubles, $115-135; one-bedroom suites, $175-300. All room prices include an American-style buffet breakfast served in **The Atrium**, a greenhouse-roofed restaurant that also serves lunch. Children under 12 are free; an additional adult is $20.00. Parking is $9 a day. On weekends all rooms are half-price and parking is free. Some of the perks: individual room thermostats, complimentary HBO, access to the Watergate Health Club and pool for $12 a day (add on $6 round trip for cab fare; it's approximately a mile away), and the hotel's own pool on the roof in season. There are three rooms available for small meetings. **Le Consulat** offers a fairly high-priced French menu at lunch and dinner. In the evening **The Atrium** becomes a cocktail lounge with live piano music.

The Fairfax, 2100 Massachusetts Ave. N.W. (202) 835-2100, (800) 424-8008. Quiet elegance and service are the hallmarks of this hotel. A former apartment building, most of the rooms are unusually spacious and furnished in a tasteful colonial Williamsburg decor. In addition to the usual extras you find in a luxury hotel, there are heat lamps in the bathrooms and turndown service that includes a small bottle of cognac on your pillow. The hotel's restaurant, **The Jockey Club**, well-known for its popularity during the Kennedy administration, still serves excellent—and expensive—fare. The same meals can be served in your room by the efficient and gracious room service. There's also a cocktail lounge, with inviting sofas and a live piano player most evenings. Singles, $110-$165; doubles, $130-185; junior suites, $195-215; one-bedroom suites, $325-550; two-bedroom, $625. Children under 16 are free; additional adults, $20 each. Parking is $6.55 a day. On weekends rooms are $100 per night. If you can spend more, you'll get more: fruit and cheese on arrival and breakfast in the Jockey Club for $35 a night additional, and for a mere $430 per couple you get two weekend nights, champagne and roses, three hours in a limousine, breakfasts, and a wine and cheese tray. The Phillips Gallery, an absolute must for art lovers, is just across Massachusetts Avenue.

DINE with a VIEW
CHESAPEAKE BAY

North, East & West—the Shipping of the World and the Yachts of the East Coast —27 miles

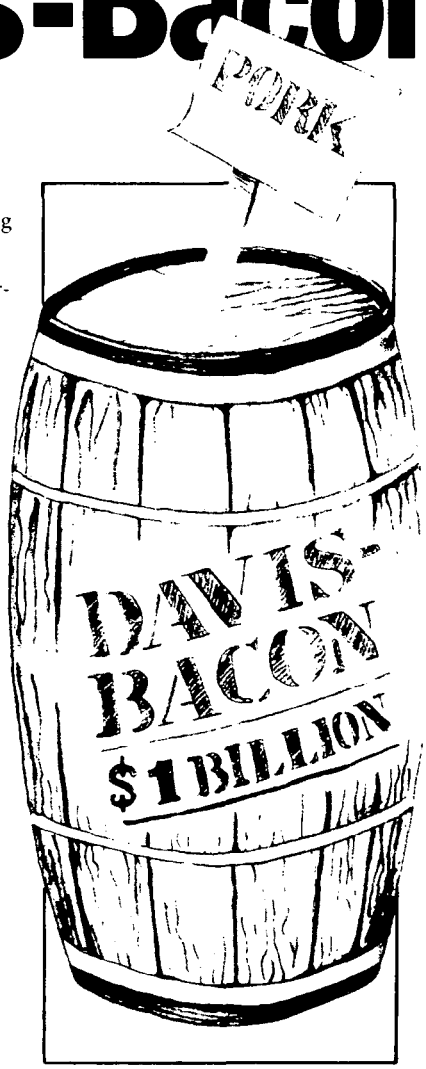
Md. Routes 4 and 258

DANES on the BAY

Shady Site, Md. 867-2966

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Repeal the Billion Dollar Davis-Bacon Tax.



More than $1 billion: That's how much the Big Labor bosses are taking out of the American taxpayer's pocket every year to pay for one of the biggest pork barrel laws in American history.

It's called the Davis-Bacon Act. It was passed during the Great Depression to require payment on federal construction projects of the "prevailing wage" in a given locality. Who could argue with such a law?

The Government Accounting Office (GAO), for one. What was good forty years ago, says GAO, ought to be repealed as soon as possible. If Congress can summon the courage to take away what one construction contractor calls "the greatest treasure in Big Labor's chest."

Davis-Bacon should be repealed because it costs American consumers over $1 billion a year in artificial wages that enrich Big Labor, inflate construction prices, drive small contractors and their workers out of jobs, slow down needed defense work and help keep Blacks, Hispanics and other minorities on the welfare rolls.

Consider the Symphony Road, Boston, housing projects for the poor. One old apartment building is being renovated at a cost of $23,000 per unit and will rent to eligible families for up to $375 a month. One block away, another building is being renovated for the same purpose. The cost, though, is $39,000 per unit and the rent is up to $600 per family. Davis-Bacon makes the difference.

Or look at the water treatment plant the City of Houston is building. Costs for the plant's dryers and filter houses skyrocketed 55% because of Davis-Bacon.

If that's not enough, construction costs on the Metro subway system in Washington, D.C. are, according to GAO, $149 million higher than they should be because of Davis-Bacon.

And if being held hostage by the Arab oil sheiks makes you uncomfortable, you should know that work on America's Strategic Petroleum Reserve has slowed to a crawl because of Davis-Bacon.

Big Labor doesn't want you to know these facts. Their political allies in Congress and the career bureaucrats in the Department of Labor don't want to face the outrage of inflation-burdened consumers, bankrupt small contractors and their jobless employees and the minorities who want to work but can't because of Davis-Bacon.

The Public Service Research Council is the nation's largest organization concerned exclusively with education and research about public sector unionism, including issues like Davis-Bacon. Americans Against Union Control of Government is a division of PSRC, functioning as a citizens lobby at all levels of government.

If you'd like to know more about the billion dollar Davis-Bacon tax and how you can help repeal it, write to us. We think it's past time that the Big Labor bosses and their friends in Washington, D.C. stop getting away with one of the most outrageous pork barrel scandals of this century.

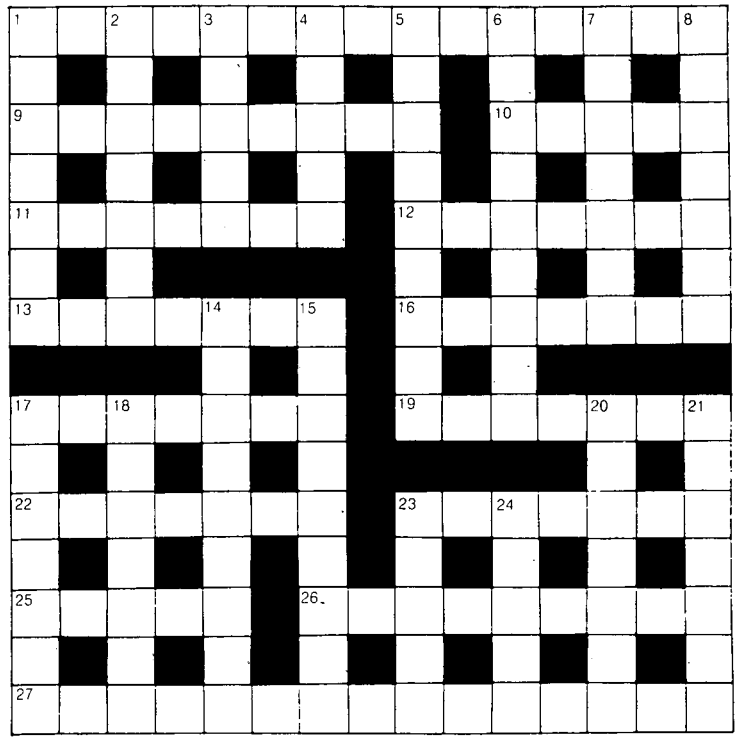
Public Service Research Council
Suite 600
8330 Old Courthouse Road
Vienna, Virginia 22180
(703) 790-0700

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Political Puzzle

by John Barclay

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2,3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word.



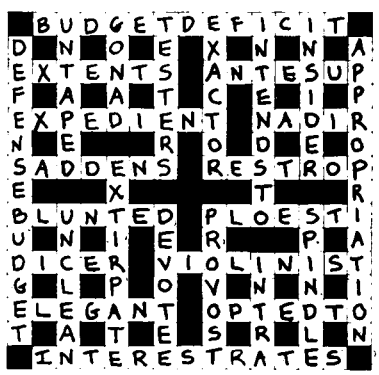
ACROSS

1. Warm spot in the Deep South. (8,7).
9. Put career on line to take charge again. (9)
10. Presently fashionable war policy? (2-3)
11. Overlooks carelessly, is goner. (7)
12. Wetter mountain prince? (7)
13. Banjo ban is questionable cure? (7)
16. Junkies, even without a degree. (7)
17. Cannes University distributed distinctions. (7)
19. Famous daughter found boiling treacle. (7)
22. Amuses children and roasted nuts. (5,2)
23. Keeping nudists apart? (7)
25. Answer found elsewhere. (5)
26. Sister ten wildly attracts. (9)
27. Uninvited guests in 1 Across this year. (9,6)

DOWN

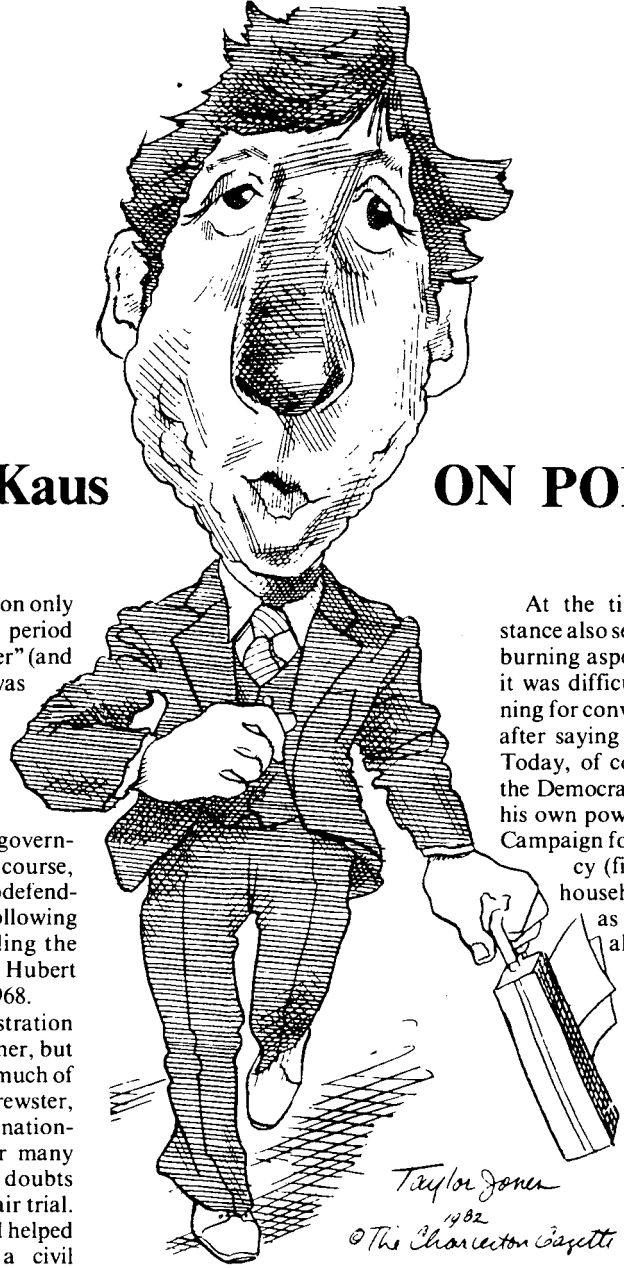
1. Exchange aid or minister. (7)
2. Confused 100 signal defeats. (7)
3. Outcast put off coming up. (5)
4. Bell, book and candle, for example. (5)
5. To make dizzy native swallow wild French cheese. (9)
6. Poles' line? (9)
7. Reward for born-again Christian? (3,4)
8. Ladies find Reagan coming up in the waters. (7)
14. Economic phase lasting about one Congressional year, we hear. (9)
15. U. Miss. lion was the leader. (9)
17. Absolute peace for van in driving rain. (7)
18. Reducing a giant bee swarm. (7)
20. Fine French wine involved secrets. (4,3)
21. Fool sits clumsily and attends. (7)
23. Clean up in combat hero style. (5)
24. After wells in North Dakota. (5)

Answers to last month's puzzle:



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Robert M. Kaus ON POLITICAL BOOKS



I saw Tom Hayden in action only once during the sixties, the period when he was a "radical leader" (and I a follower). The occasion was the big demonstration in New Haven to protest the trial of Black Panther Bobby Seale. Seale faced charges in connection with the killing of an alleged government informant. Earlier, of course, Seale had been Hayden's codefendant on conspiracy charges following the violent protest attending the presidential nomination of Hubert Humphrey in Chicago in 1968.

The New Haven demonstration wasn't entirely peaceful, either, but by its second day it had lost much of its radical tinge. Kingman Brewster, president of Yale, had made national headlines and won over many protestors by expressing doubts that Seale could receive a fair trial. Eager Yale law students had helped turn the gathering into a civil liberties symposium, discussing the technicalities of the grand jury system, the unreliability of the government's key witness, and the possible bias in jury selection that might convict an innocent Seale.

Then Hayden stepped onto the stage. Wearing a green army jacket and a look of disgust, he cut through all this soft-headed liberalism, proclaiming dramatically that it didn't matter whether Seale was innocent or guilty. There was a war on, he said, and the main point was that Seale was on the right side. Hayden received the loudest ovation of the day. Driving home, I wondered about his argument (murder, I hoped, would still be a crime after the Revolution). But I also respected Hayden more, in a way. Only he had had the guts—the radical honesty, if you will—to point out the obvious: that Seale was quite possibly guilty as charged.

At the time, Hayden's radical stance also seemed to have a bridge-burning aspect. Born leader or not it was difficult to imagine his running for conventional elective office after saying some of those things. Today, of course, he is very much the Democratic politician. He heads his own powerful organization, the Campaign for Economic Democracy (financed in part by the household income he shares as Mr. Jane Fonda). He almost won the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate in California in 1976, and a few months ago he kicked off his campaign for a seat in California state assembly with a $200-a-plate dinner at the ritzy Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles. The organizer who (according to Irving Howe's forthcoming autobiography) once bragged to children that "I live in Newark among the rats," is now building himself a new house in one of the more prosperous sections of Santa Monica, among the palms.

Hayden's critics, both left and right, deride his celebrity and evident ambition. Yet reading Hayden's recently revised book, *The American Future* (Washington Square Press, $3.95), it is this ambition you begin to treasure. Unlike so many best-selling left-wing gurus, Hayden has eagerly taken the most democratic of risks: he wants to win

Robert M. Kaus is politics editor of Harper's *and a contributing editor of* The Washington Monthly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

elections. To do this he must expose himself to a broader range of judgment than that offered by the New York reviewers or the browsers at Brentano's. It is this need to make sense to the average voter that seems to have forced Hayden, in 1982, to question some of the unspoken assumptions of the left with the same sort of acid honesty he displayed at New Haven in 1970.

When he discusses crime, for example, one does not find Hayden trying to sell his readers any fancy left-wing nonsense about lawbreaking as a form of protest, or a "product of the system" (or, for that matter, an excusable act of war). Left-liberal politicians, Hayden argues, "acted like social psychologists as people were victimized. They seemed to counsel the citizen being stabbed to remain patient until the Humphrey-Hawkins bill passed." For the left "to be credible on this issue," he concedes, it "will have to accept the need for greater deterrence, more police on the streets, and stiffer criminal penalties. . . ."

More generally, Hayden chastises the left for "having . . . lost God, the flag, national defense, personal safety, and the traditional family to the conservatives." Secure non-politicians like Norman Lear may make a splash by vilifying Jerry Falwell—but as a politician, Hayden knows he must appeal to the moral values those on the religious right hold. "The left," he says, "cannot attack [the] sources of family breakdown if it is ambiguous about the value of the family to begin with, or if it is indifferent to divorce or the lack of authority and direction in children's lives."

So politics precludes Hayden from being a cliched sixties holdover. (Have you ever heard Jerry Rubin, in any of his serial guises, criticizing "permissive lifestyles?") Like any no-nonsense conservative, Hayden attacks permanent budget deficits ("an 18-year pattern of federal spending") as well as the system of indexed government benefits that "perpetuates inflation." He defends private property ("The ability to own and create seems to be necessary to both freedom and dignity. . ."). And socialism, he argues, has failed to solve "the problem of the state as self-perpetuating bureaucracy. . . . [N]ationalization seems an unattractive alternative both in theory and the everyday experience of Americans."

But if politics is the cause of much of what is good about this book, politics—at least Hayden's particular conception of it—is also the source of most of what is bad. Hayden clearly envisions himself as the leader of a "new majority governing coalition" composed of the various "constituencies" that might endorse his radical program. His prose is heavily weighted with the constant, oppressive litany of these interest groups—"working people, consumers, minorities, and small business," not to mention senior citizens, gays, lesbians, and the handicapped. If Hayden is struggling to break the mold of cliched leftism, many of his followers aren't—and Hayden at times seems to consciously play to the prejudices of this audience ("protecting his base," another politician might call it). Wherever possible, he blames America's ills on the usual suspects. Inflation is caused by the Vietnam war and "corporate power"—never the power of labor unions. In Hayden's rhetorical world workers never use their economic leverage to the detriment of the economy (although when layoff fears recede they sometimes "take a little more time to socialize with other workers"). When Hayden ventures so far as to praise the American Revolution, he must quickly add the obvious qualification "limited as it was by slavery and male superiority."

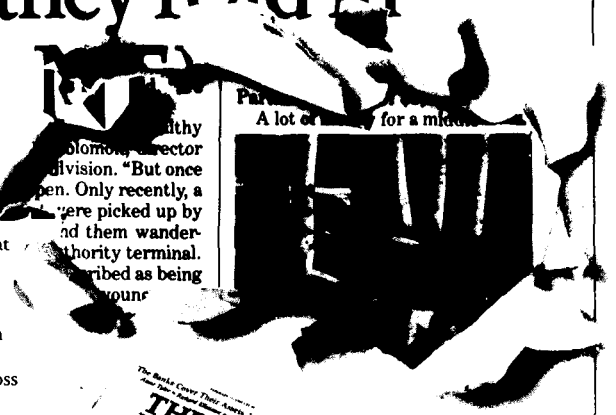
A key group under Hayden's umbrella, of course, is the anti-nuclear power/pro-solar lobby. And Hayden often gives the impression of having bought an extreme version of the dreary, no-growth argument some solar advocates favor. Predicting that "Americans will be subject to skyrocketing energy inflation," (much of *American Future*, alas, was drafted at the height of the Iran oil crisis), Hayden asserts that "the possibility of a materialistic middle-class life-style—by 1975 standards—for all Americans will become more and more remote because of objective limits."

Indeed, Hayden spends much of his book arguing for a "steady state economy," where Americans abandon the pursuit of GNP and "an urban, materialistic, consumer culture" in order to cultivate an "inward-looking consciousness" better suited to "the end of the frontier" and the "collapsing" American empire. He rails against "cheap substitutes" for metals, wood, and glass, as well as against inexcusably decadent consumer items like television sets and "electric typewriters." At times Hayden seems to recognize that this no-growth line has little appeal beyond the already converted—and particularly little appeal to the poor and jobless. So we occasionally find him worrying sensibly about the ability of the U.S. to keep up in the race to develop "competitive new technologies," or lamenting that "while the U.S. has provided costly military protection to West Germany and Japan since World War II, their scientists have been free to concentrate a far greater effort on developing the technology for consumer goods that are superior to American products." But these moments of incisive common sense are lost amid Hayden's groaning attempt to establish his position as a theoretician of the solar lifestyle.

Another typical "constituency" Hayden identifies as ripe for picking is "permanent renters." Hayden has been a champion of the well-publicized movement that succeeded in imposing rent controls in Santa Monica. Here again, the temptation to cultivate an interest group seems to have obscured a more general truth. Rent controls may be useful in times of acute housing shortages, a point on which Hayden's sense of the shortcomings of the free market is refreshing. But it's hard to believe Hayden doesn't know that in the long run controls inevitably cause trouble, as both owners and their customers scramble to evade them by making needless alterations, secretly bidding up prices, converting to condominiums, or allowing the housing stock to run down. Controls create a dual market that protects existing occupants (usually members of the middle-and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some people get very angry over what they read in THE NEW REPUBLIC



Sometimes they're angry *at* us—we have a habit of jabbing at cherished political beliefs and philosophies. More often, they're angry *along with us*—sharing our outrage at some of the inanities that pass for reason in Washington these days.

But always, it's an anger of the noblest kind. The reaction of people who really care—who know that the search for truth can take some pretty aggravating twists and turns: across party lines, beyond conventional wisdoms, head-on against strong personal convictions.

Will THE NEW REPUBLIC make *you* angry? Only if you care about where our country is going in politics, foreign affairs, social justice, economics, the arts. Only if you're prepared to read some of the most provocative, compelling, cage-rattling journalism appearing anywhere today. By such lights as Morton Kondracke, John Kenneth Galbraith, Nicholas von Hoffman, Carl Bernstein, Joseph Alsop, Lester Thurow, Shirley Christian, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Garry Wills, Paul Fussell. And, of course, our own curmudgeonly "TRB," Richard Strout. For example:

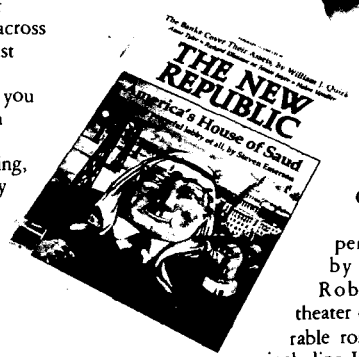
In a series of timely articles, THE NEW REPUBLIC explored the idea behind supply-side economics: that producers should be encouraged, through tax incentives, to produce. We agreed with the *idea*, but not the practice under *Reagan*. Are rich people, we asked, the true producers of wealth? Or just the most conspicuous consumers of it?

While everyone else was praising Japan's "miracle economy" to the skies, Daniel Yergin in THE NEW REPUBLIC predicted that the Japanese bullet train may be headed off the tracks. And for a reason you probably never thought of.

In several articles, we pointed out how giant corporations seem to be running American foreign policy. We didn't cite merely the obvious cases, like Chile. We showed how U.S. oil companies were propping up the Marxist regime in Angola and how banks were siding with the Russians against Solidarity in Poland. And a special investigative report in THE NEW REPUBLIC (reprinted later by newspapers around the country) revealed how Saudi Arabia secretly pressured corporations into lobbying to pass the AWACS bill.

While even many conservative publications urged a wait-and-see attitude shortly after martial law was imposed in Poland, THE NEW REPUBLIC took a tough line from the start.

And if you also tend to get emotional about things cultural, there's still more in store for you. Our outspoken TV critic, Mark Crispin Miller . . . who didn't hesitate to blast the phoniness of a sentimental special on race relations, or shy from praising a performer he



thinks is a genius: Johnny Carson.

You'll also enjoy penetrating film reviews by Stanley Kauffmann. Robert Brustein's knowing theater coverage. And an incomparable roster of book reviewers, including Irving Howe, R.W.B. Lewis, Anne Tyler, Robert Coles and Alfred Kazin.

So if you're ready to be challenged, stimulated and excited . . . if you're ready for a weekly dose of information and insight from one magazine that doesn't care whose toes it steps on, yours included . . . you're ready for THE NEW REPUBLIC.

And it's ready for you. With a special introductory offer that actually saves you 44% off the regular subscription price . . . and a giant 75% off the single-copy price! Just mail the coupon below or the postpaid card opposite. And send no money now, unless you prefer. But do act *today*, while this money-saving rate is in effect.

Knowing you, you're likely to be very angry if you miss it.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY RATE SAVES YOU A BIG 44% OFF!

☐ **YES!** Please enter my subscription to THE NEW REPUBLIC immediately at the special reduced rate of one full year (48 issues) for just $18. (I save 44% off the regular $32.00 subscription rate . . . and an extraordinary 75% off the $72.00 single-copy total!)

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later Charge my ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ American Express

Acct. # _____

Exp. Date _____ Signature _____

Print name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

THE NEW REPUBLIC P.O. Box 955 / Farmingdale, NY 11735 | 72B071

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Before you pick up the phone...

Pick up WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA 1982-1983, and get the vital information on the people you need to know.

You'll have complete, personal biographies of:

- Members of Congress
- Cabinet Secretaries
- Justices of the Federal Courts
- Top military officers
- State Governors
- Secretaries of State
- Attorneys General
- High-level officials of principal cities
- Leading officials of Canada and Mexico

...plus top decision-makers of business, law, education, associations, organizations and religions.

Each sketch is a concise resume, providing such information as education, career history, military record, awards, publications, memberships, political affiliations and activities, family names, plus home and office addresses.

You'll have the most current facts within reach at your home or office. More than 74,000 profiles will introduce you to the people behind the names...more than 13,000 are new to this edition.

Put yourself on top of the news...and the newsmakers. Order your copies of WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA 1982-1983 directly from Marquis Who's Who.

Who's Who in America

"...by far the best single source of current biographical information for the notables in this country."

Bohdan S. Wynar American Reference Books Annual

The 42nd Edition will be published May 1982. To order the 2-volume set, send $109.50 plus $5 postage and handling to. Marquis Who's Who, Inc. • 200 East Ohio Street • Room 212 • Chicago, Illinois 60611. Please add state sales tax where applicable.

ISBN 0-8379-0142-1 • Product #030260

Or call our toll-free number. **800-428-3898**

upper-middle classes) at the expense of those unfortunates looking for a new place to live. The long-term solution to a housing crisis is increased housing supply. But such a solution has less appeal to voting blocs like the renters or the well-to-do Santa Monica homeowners who don't want big apartment houses built in their neighborhoods. So Hayden sticks with controls—not even bothering to mention their long-run drawbacks.

Hayden's very credibility—and his potential competence as a leader—seems compromised by his fealty to the elements of his own "coalition." *American Future* repeatedly accepts on faith questionable assertions from sympathetic sources (although, in the peculiar tradition of Marxist scholarship, the stuffiest establishment organs are occasionally also given total credence, as if every *Business Week* editorial on a "crisis for the corporation" was a damaging admission leaked directly from the Executive Committee of the Ruling Class). Does Hayden know that the rosy estimates for solar energy on which he relies were cranked out by solar boosters in a Democratic White House desperate to get some optimistic figures in time for Jimmy Carter's Sun Day announcement in 1978—and that they were based on a computer program whose chief virtue was the ability to generate just such headline-grabbing numbers? (See "The Cult of Consulting," Gregg Easterbrook, *The Washington Monthly*, May 1980.) The book offers little reassurance that Hayden, if elected, would not be even more vulnerable than most liberal politicians to being duped by the wishful thinking of his own allies and staff.

Where Hayden might articulate a clear vision of what (now that he's not a socialist) he wants American society to look like, he seems to have opted for an "interest group" model. Hayden's ideal of "economic democracy" turns out to be Ralph Nader's suggestion that representatives of workers, consumers, and local communities ("stakeholders," as Hayden calls them) be given permanent seats on the boards of corporations. In this muddled scheme, the average citizen would find his interest fragmented into its "consumer," "community," and "worker" parts, with the professional advocates of these incomplete perspectives set to warring against each other. Talk about self-perpetuating bureaucracy! Imagine the various "stakeholder" constituencies, each championed by "full-time board members, with staff," posturing, negotiating (and forming "coalitions") around every significant corporate decision. No wonder Hayden must abandon the notion of economic growth.

Hayden's idea that successful political movements are composed of coalitions of aggrieved "interests" is nothing new, of course. It is the traditional political model of the New Deal Democrats, the "Old Politics" of men like Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey that Hayden and his followers went to Chicago to protest in 1968. But, ironically, the Johnson/Humphrey brand of coalition-building, for all its disastrous consequences, had redeeming elements that Hayden's version lacks.

One was the belief, at the heart of the best New Deal politics, that the government could work for the com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mon good in a manner that was inspiring as well as simply efficient. Amazingly, Hayden seems bereft of this faith. Even more than Ronald Reagan (who occasionally praises NASA or the Pentagon), his view of government is unremittingly sour. Attacking "the bloated bureaucracy of the welfare state," he talks (rightly) of the need for "voluntarism" and "self-help." He calls for "returning major responsibility for certain programs and services from the government to society." But when it comes to necessary collective self-help through *government,* Hayden is left (after grumbling about "bureaucratic giantism") yearning for a futuristic quick-fix, "the introduction of new communications and computer technology" that will promote "efficiency."

Hayden gives no indication that, short of such a Toffleresque technical miracle, there is any hope that our government will ever do anything particularly well. This is no small contradiction for a left-wing politician who sees a need for, among other things: regulation of oil and gas prices, credit, export, and investment controls, "national health insurance with cost controls," affirmative action plans ("elaborated sill more broadly") "strict" regulatory controls on toxic effluents, "stringent" controls on capital flow, mandatory conservation, and anti-redlining laws. Arguing in favor of gas rationing as an alternative to high prices during the "energy crisis," Hayden opts for a "white rationing" system (where coupons would be freely bought and sold, and their prices consequently inflated) because he cannot conceive of a direct rationing system that functions without additional "costly" government bureaucracy. A Hubert Humphrey, who remembered how, in World War II, boards of unpaid volunteers successfully rationed gas, might draw a different conclusion, and make a better case for rationing.

The Hubert Humphreys, despite their shameless pandering to voting blocs like the elderly, also tried to appeal to an overarching concept of the public interest—to forge, not a coalition, but a party whose members felt they were above all *citizens* building a better society, even if that temporarily hurt them as individual senior citizens or homeowners, bankers, or whatever. Hayden's sixties radicalism had appeal (to me, at least) because it, too, tried to stir such universal, communal sentiments. You can sense, even in the revised Hayden of 1980, a politician trying to express them anew—as when he appeals to common "family values," calls on his readers to remember the "traditional self-sacrifice of production," or advocates building new industries (instead of simply protecting old ones, and their voting blocs), or undercuts his own end-of-empire aesthetic by finishing a chapter with a corny call to "believe that our greatness lies always before us, that our potential is still infinite."

In *The American Future* these appeals—and the concrete policies that might be formed around them—are trapped in the framework of Hayden's complex strategy for a "new coalition" and his quasi-feudal version of "economic democracy." But there is reason to expect that he will choose to build on them in the future. A politics based on appeals to patriotism and selflessness is essential not only to *governing* a society that could be ripped apart by warring economic interests; it is also, I think, essential to getting elected. The voters, no fools, are most inspired by politicians who (like Reagan) treat them not as "workers" or "community members" or "consumers" or "permanent renters" but simply as considerate, productive Americans. And if there's anything Hayden seems to want these days, it is to get elected. In a democracy, where there's ambition, there's hope. □

According to the February 1982 issue of ***Esquire*** magazine, ***The Washington Monthly***'s editor, Charles Peters, is which of the following?

a. "Curmudgeonly"
b. "The Founding Father" and "the Godfather of neoliberalism"
c. The Democratic party's "ex officio cattle prod"
d. All of the above

But then, if you have your own subscription to **The Washington Monthly,** you probably didn't need **Esquire** to tell you all that. If you don't, why not send us an order. Read firsthand what others are talking about.

The answer is **d.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Political Booknotes

The Best Defense. *Alan M. Dershowitz. Random House, $15.95.* Books by lawyers on their greatest wins often take on a stultifying sameness—reminding one of the party guest who can't shut up. Dershowitz—a Harvard law professor, civil liberties advocate, and criminal defense lawyer—does better. He keeps the requisite egotism within tolerable and often ingratiating bounds. His prose is lively. And his stories, like his battles, have pizzazz.

Dershowitz has made money defending unsavory clients like nursing home operator Bernard Bergman, but he also writes of his quixotic efforts on behalf of Soviet dissidents. Some of his stock characterizations stretch credulity. Prosecutors are power-hungry and unscrupulous. All policemen lie. Judges who call the shots as Dershowitz wants are rare, and risk ostracism; the rest, in his view, are weak-kneed, dumb, or dishonest. Unfortunately the book contains no advice on how to get the system out of its legal mess.

—David Jonathan Cohen

Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century. *John Hope Franklin, August Meier, eds. $19.95.*

The CIA in Guatemala. *Richard Immerman. Univ. of Texas, $24.50.* This account of the CIA-directed coup against Guatemalan president Jacobo Arbenz in 1954 suffers from a historian's penchant for too much detail. Still, it's a valuable study of what Immerman correctly portrays as a seminal event, not just in the annals of the Cold War, but in U.S.-Latin American relations. Arbenz's toleration of a few communists in his leftist government fueled the paranoid visions of John Foster Dulles and President Eisenhower, both of whom were intimately involved in planning the covert operation. The Guatemalan coup also shows how small successes can breed much larger failures. E. Howard Hunt, Allen Dulles, and Richard Bissell, all of whom played key roles in the Guatemala coup, later used its success to justify an even more ambitious CIA operation in Latin America: the Bay of Pigs.

—Phil Keisling

Down to Earth: Environment & Human Needs. *Erik P. Eckholm. Norton, $14.95.*

The End of the Line: A Narrative History of the Siege of Khe Sanh. *Robert Pisor. Norton, $14.95.*

Essays in Economics: Theory and Policy. *James Tobin. MIT Press, $45.*

Hearts and Minds: The Anatomy of Racism from Roosevelt to Reagan. *Harry S. Ashmore. McGraw-Hill, $15.95.*

Israel Now: A Portrait of a Troubled Land. *Lawrence Meyer. Delacorte, $16.95.* Meyer traces the way Israel developed from pioneers' dreams into a world power. He also shows the price of that momentous change—not just military insecurity, but triple-digit inflation and a chaotic bureaucracy. Much of this is familiar—the traditions of the Holy Land, the structure of the kibbutz—but Meyer pulls it all together in a highly readable account.

—Gene Sittenfeld

A Legacy of Hate: Anti-Semitism in America. *Ernest Volkman. Franklin Watts, $16.95.*

Lions of the Eighties: New Powerhouses of the Corporate Bar. *Paul Hoffman. Doubleday, $17.95.*

A Man's Life: An Autobiography. *Roy Wilkins. Simon & Schuster, $17.95.*

The Modern American Vice-Presidency. *Joel K. Goldstein. Princeton Univ., $28.*

Oil and Turmoil. *Dankart Rustow. Norton, $14.95.*

The Once and Future Democrats: Strategies for Change. *Paul Simon. Continuum, $12.95.*

The Other Government: Power and the Washington Media. *William L. Rivers. Universe, $12.95.*

Planning a Tragedy. *Larry Berman. Norton, $14.95.* This is a detailed dissection of the events that led to the crucial error of the American experience in Vietnam—the decision to escalate that was made in 1965 and that took American troop strength from less than 50,000 to 500,000. It is also profound in its understanding of those events. The villains of the story, Bundy and McNamara, were not motivated by thirst for victory but by fear of defeat. The decision was necessary, wrote one participant, "if we are to succeed in not losing the war."

—Charles Peters

The Politics of Uranium. *Norman Moss. Universe, $13.95.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Real Campaign: The Media and the Battle for the White House. *Jeff Greenfield. Summit, $14.95.*

The Real World of Liberalism. *David Spitz. Univ. of Chicago, $20.*

The Right Place at the Right Time. *Robert MacNeil. Little Brown, $13.95.*

Russian Roulette: The Superpower Game. *Arthur Macy Cox, George Arbatov. Times Books, $14.95.*

Shifting Involvements. *Albert O. Hirschman. Princeton Univ.* A fascinating examination of man's tendency to move from involvement in society to involvement in self, from concern with the public good to concern with private happiness.

—C. P.

To Inform or to Control: The Communications Networks. *Oswald H. Ganley, Gladys D. Ganley. McGraw-Hill, $15.95.*

Tomorrow, Capitalism. *Henri Lepage. Open Court, $14.95.* This rather breathless survey of the "free market" school of economics associated with Milton Friedman is unabashedly admiring. Lepage, a French journalist of libertarian bent, trots out not just Friedman, but a host of other conservative practitioners of the dismal science, some of them obscure, and quite deservedly so. There are some genuinely silly theories here that Lepage presents with a perfectly straight face. My favorite purports to solve the problem of overfishing by giving fishermen their own "plot" of ocean and letting them keep track of things with that modern cure-all: electronic sensors.

Lepage and company do have an important insight. Government intervention in the marketplace often is inefficient if not counterproductive. Urban renewal efforts benefited wealthy real estate speculators at the expense of the poor

The foundering fathers

Since 1961, the United States has suffered a series of stunning blows to its role as undisputed world economic and diplomatic leader. This daring book pins the blame on the ambitious and confused policy goals—both domestic and foreign—of recent American administrations.

Challenging the conventional diagnoses and solutions of both left and right, Calleo presents a long-overdue if painful prescription for genuine reform.

"This is a marvelous combination of close-up history and distanced analysis, indispensable for anyone who wants to know how the American economy got into its present condition and how it might conceivably get out of it."
— Robert L. Heilbroner

$17.50

The Imperious Economy

by
David Calleo

Available at bookstores or directly from
Harvard University Press
79 Garden Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

"A striking condensation of the Watergate escapade, presented in a unique setting and posing challenging inquiries."—Leon Jaworski

Rejecting the common belief that the Watergate debacle resulted from paranoia, stupidity, and incompetence, Douglas Muzzio, assistant professor of political science at Baruch College, uses game theory to demonstrate that, at almost every turning point, the principal "players" made rational, optimal choices. He offers a new and compelling analysis of Richard Nixon, Elliott Richardson, and others, while painting a strikingly original picture of these historic events.

WATERGATE GAMES / **Strategies, Choices, Outcomes**

DOUGLAS MUZZIO
$17.95

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS
At your bookstore or direct from **Columbia University Press**
136 South Broadway, Irvington, N.Y. 10533

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and many of the government's subsidies are little more than transfer payments from one group of well-off taxpayers to another. The problem with this entire school of thought is that its adherents seem as wrapped up in arcane academic theories as the Marxists they so gleefully deride. The real world works a lot differently. Indeed, Lepage's book was written in 1978 and was just recently translated; since then many of the free market and monetarist policies he celebrates have been enacted. It might have looked great on paper, but the unemployment lines are longer than ever.

—*P.K.*

The Truth About Energy. *Herbert Schmertz, Larry Woods. Simon & Schuster, $14.95.*

The Turbulent Teens: Understanding, Helping, Surviving. *James E. Gardner. Oak Tree, $12.95.*

Voices of Protest. *Alan Brinkley. Knopf, $18.50.* This thoughtful and well-writtten book is the story of Huey Long and Father Charles Coughlin and the role they played as leaders—albeit never formally allied—of a remarkable political movement. I share the author's belief that most of their followers were neither irrational nor anti-democratic but sought "a society in which the individual retained control of his own life and livelihood—in which power resided in visible, accessible institutions; in which wealth was equitably (if not necessarily equally) shared." Indeed, I continue to think those aspirations could fuel a powerful political movement.

Most readers will be familiar with much of the material about Long—so much has been written about him—but the Coughlin material was largely new to me and will, I imagine, be so for you. At the height of his power as a radio priest, he was reaching ten million people a week and had much greater national influence than Long. He got away with expressing his radical ideas at a time when the press and radio were 95-percent Republican-controlled because he was a powerful orator who could attract large audiences. It is hard to explain to people today—people who live in a media world largely dominated by a kind of respectable liberalism—how very hard it was to break conservative dominance of the media in the thirties. Will Rogers did it with humor, Drew Pearson with large side-helpings of juicy political scandal, and FDR, like Coughlin, with a radio voice that was very nearly irresistible.

—*C.P.*

When Government Speaks: Politics, Law and Government Expression in America. *Mark Yudof. Univ. of California.*

Who Runs Washington? *Michael Killian, Arnold Sawislak. St. Martin's, $14.95.*

Witnesses to the Origins of the Cold War. *Thomas Hammond, ed. Univ. of Washington, $22.50.*

THE OTHER GOVERNMENT

Power & the Washington Media

William L. Rivers

Howard Simons, THE WASHINGTON POST:
"A masterful and rich anecdotal road map to how the Washington media writes and behaves."

Jack Nelson, THE LOS ANGELES TIMES:
"Thoroughly researched and highly readable, it should appeal to the public at large and be on the 'must' list of journalists, political scientists and others who closely follow the workings of Government."

Frank Reynolds, ABC-TV NEWS:
"A thoughtful and penetrating analysis of television news."

Les Whitten, Senior Investigator for Jack Anderson:
"Rivers looks at America's 'other government' with the hawk eye of a veteran Washington correspondent and the rich intellect of a brilliant academician. The result: the clearest examination yet of our nagging, necessary, narcissistic national press."

$12.95 hardcover Publication: June 1982

UNIVERSE BOOKS, 381 Park Ave. South, N.Y., NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Defense of Quality

Considerations of the federal budget, when they get around to defense spending, tend to reignite the debate over quality versus quantity in military hardware.

Within the funding available for defense procurement, is the nation better off buying larger numbers of simpler aircraft, missiles, tanks, and ships? Or are national defense and security better served with fewer units of equipment that's more advanced technologically and provides greater performance and capability? Such equipment is necessarily more costly, for the same reason that a 10-speed bike costs more than a 3-speeder.

The advocates of quantity argue that sheer numbers count for more in combat than the quality of the hardware. The central flaw in this contention is that low-technology weaponry in many cases cannot do the job in our high-technology times.

Take fighter aircraft as an example. To be sure, there are combat arenas where large numbers of less advanced fighters could deliver better results than smaller numbers of more sophisticated and expensive planes. But the reality of aerial combat is that conditions are generally less than ideal. They are unlikely to be suited to the use of simpler planes. Wars aren't always fought from 8 to 5 with crystal skies.

What about nighttime operations? Adverse weather? The need to penetrate enemy defenses? In the face of such demands, the test of combat could not be met by planes that are blind in the dark or murk and are armed with visual-range missiles. What these missions require are high-performance aircraft equipped with electronics to see and sense things their crews cannot, and weapons that can find and destroy targets even when they're shrouded in darkness or clouds.

Similar failings apply to ground-based and seagoing equipment that's simpler in design and ability and hence less costly:

- tanks too lightly armored to stand up to the pounding of enemy fire;
- ships lacking electronic brains, eyes, and ears for long-range surveillance and strike;
- carriers incapable of launching powerful attack aircraft;
- submarines without the range and endurance provided by nuclear propulsion.

Austere weaponry certainly has a place in America's defense arsenal. But it cannot substitute, whatever its quantity, for equipment delivering the greater performance and versatility made possible by electronics and other advanced technologies.

The Soviets' military production is awesome. They spend 15% of their gross national product for military purposes, compared with 6% for the U.S. Last year they built five times as many fighters and fighter-bombers as the U.S., seven times as many armored personnel carriers, five times as many tanks, three times as many ICBMs.

At this time, there is no way the U.S. can match the Soviet Union in *quantity* of weaponry. Where we must excel is in *quality*. We must design and build into our equipment the highest useful quality and capability that technology can provide. (Even so, that shouldn't mean "gold-plating," or overdesigning to deliver unneeded performance at great cost.)

When American lives and security interests are at stake, second best isn't good enough.

UNITED TECHNOLOGIES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could mean a billion years of energy.

"Nuclear fusion is the energy source of the sun and the stars, and if we can reproduce that process on earth, we'll have energy for a billion years," says Dr. Tihiro Ohkawa, Vice President for Fusion Power Research at General Atomic Company, a subsidiary of the Gulf Oil Corporation.

"Our research programs, sponsored by the Department of Energy and others, could lead to construction of an experimental fusion reactor within a decade.

"Both fusion and conventional fission reactors produce heat, which can, for instance, generate electricity. But fusion produces less radioactive waste than fission. It can't get out of control. And it uses cheaper fuel—hydrogen instead of uranium. In fact, fusion reactors can make fuel for fission reactors, a[illegible] bly could even b[illegible] fission reactors' v[illegible]

"It's a tremendo[illegible] nological challe[illegible] the reward is tremen[illegible] too: inexhaustible [illegible] for tomorrow."

Gulf

Gulf people [illegible] energy for tomorro[illegible]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED